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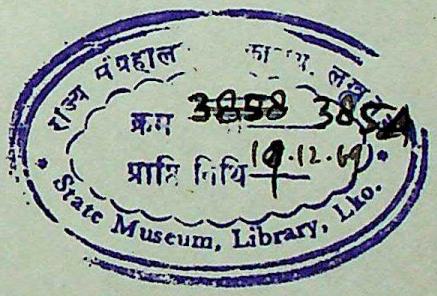
A Survey of Folklore Study in Bengal

West Bengal And East Pakistan

By Sankar Sen Gupta



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To my father Sj. Surendranath Sen

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FOREWORD

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As the object of this study is to assist the students of folklore, social and cultural anthropology, literature, history and other subjects, it will not be amiss to begin with a survey so as to able to form a rough estimate of the work done so far in the field of folklore and allied subjects in Bengal. From this survey readers will know of certain activities and movements along with the wants in the field, so that they may try to fulfill the gap.

This study makes no claim to present anything new which is unknown to scholars. Its intention is more modest : to suggest certain views and trends of research and provide a mass of material ready at hand. This has been possible because of the honourable contributions of folklorists, anthropologists, literateurs, historians and other scholars we had before us. If there be any credit for this study that should go to them.

I have included certain things which might have no direct bearing on folklore since they seemed to me to be useful for a comprehensive idea and expanding knowledge, I could not abandon them.

In the two volumes of the present book, of which this is the first, it is proposed to offer a brief but essentially complete picture of folklore study in Bengal more or less in bibliographic manner. Here substantial body of materials—classification, schools, forms and other theoretical aspects on the development with some opinions, suggestions of eminent scholars and distinguished educators either in the body or in the notes, are included which, I believe, will inspire students. There are certain ommissions of which I am regretfully aware.

While presenting to the readers this modest attempt at compilation, I am not obivious to its shortfalls, mistakes and errors some of which have come to my notice of late, and this, I assure, will be rectified in the next edition and for others I apologise to the learned readers.

S. S. G.

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I thank all authors and publishers for frequent quotations, references and other helps and offer my deep gratitude to all of them.

I am grateful to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A. Ph.D. for valuable comments and criticism ; to Bireswar Banerjee, D.Lit for drawing maps, to Amarendra Mukherjee, J. K. Guha, M.A. & Prof. N. K. Chatterjee, M.A. for seeing proofs and offering suggestions. My sincere thanks to Miss Gita Sen Gupta, B.A. and Mrs. Namita Mukherjee for preparing Index and to the workers and staff of National library, Calcutta for their active help and co-operation.

The Director and the staff of the Nabasakti Press should be congratulated for printing it quickly. It is superfluous to say anything about Indian Publications which organisation has been doing yeomen's service to keep the people of the world well informed about Indian folklore. The entire body of materials appeared serially in *Folklore* from June to September, 1967 which are reproduced in the book form with necessary corrections wherever possible.

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ERRATA

Page 29 line 32 please read *who entertained* in lieu 'who entrusted' ; the same page line 37 *he invested* in lieu of 'he invaded' ; of the same page line 40 *news of disaster* in lieu of news of distress.

Page 38 line 5 please read *as folklore* in lieu of *'as falklore'*

Page 56 line 28 please read *has edited a Punthi* on in lieu of 'edited a panthi. . . .,

Page 57 line 5 please read *'Padma Purana' of Bangshidas Roy* in lieu of *'Padma Purama* of Bamandas Roy.

Page 62 Note 3rd line from the bottom please read—*Anti-Circular Society was founded in 1905 (2. 10. 1905). The object of the Society was to protest the attitude of the Government toward the National Education and make efforts for the withdrawal of the circular in which the academic institutions were directed to take step against the students if they join in the National Education Movemeent* in lieu of what has been printed in 'Anti Circular Society was founded on 22. 10. 1905 . . . . . Movement.'

Page 83 line 27 please read *Ph.D. in 1944* in lieu of '1941' (also correct page 91 and 130 accordingly).

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A Survey of Folklore Stduy in Bengal

West Bengal and East Pakistan

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PREFACE

The development of folklore study in Bengal as also in India has, for obvious reasons, been slower than in the West although India is considered to be a rich storehouse of folklore. Yet due to the growing awareness and progress of folklore study in recent years much attention is being directed to the traditional materials. All over India the tide is now working against folklore in its stylistic purity. But folklorists are trying hard to combat it by utilizing folklore for national integration and uplift of society. It is correctly said by Dr. M. Eder, editor, "Asian Folklore Studies", Tokyo, in a personal letter that, "Indian folklore is in all probability the most complicated in the world, such a long historical past, so many ethnic and linguistic groups". In another personal letter Prof. Alan Dundes of the University of California wrote, "India is such a rich storehouse of living folklore that its folklorists should be the best of the world so as to take advantage of such extraordinary traditional treasures. The opportunities of folklore research in India are unequalled anywhere in the world". Folklorists contribute rightly to the development of universal culture, peace and prosperity. This contribution embraces not only the universality of human nature, but also the people's specific moral physiognomy, that is, their specific moral, social and cultural features, their own way of considering nature and society and tackling the major problems of life which rise in the course of centuries.

Spectacular advances in the field of research and investigation in recent years are of particular interest in folklore study. Test instruments have new applications and testing has adopted new trends. All these point toward progress which is made possible by research for years. Socio-anthropologists, as is well known, are more concerned with economic, agro-caste-community, social and tribal studies and a number of folklorists have come from them. Folklore is being utilized, by and large, as the decisive factor in the process of description, analysis and final definition. Here a new category of questions motivated by growing mixture has been opened. Undoubtedly, the change of approach to

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folklore study is gaining deeper significance in India as also in other parts of the globe. In general, it has undergone and is rapidly going through several phases of development. Whereas in the early days the accent was mainly on collection it has shifted to investigation, to the possible interrelations among the peoples all over the world. The traditional method of adjustment has considerable merit. What is desirable is a fair cooperation between the old and the new, between the disciplines of science and the humanities.

The history of folklore study in India is perhaps the history of break-up of old orders. In this study, therefore, emphasis has been added by examining available books and journals. Here primarily the names of the Bengali scholars are mentioned along with some Western scholars. Western scholars are referred to because of their valuable service and painstaking activities in this or that branch of Bengal folklore or inspiring scholars of Bengal by their penetrating endeavours. Some of the Western scholars referred to here have authentic works on Bengal folklore while others have encouraged scholars and enthusiasts of Bengal to dig deep.

It has been said in the body of the text that there is no widespread agreement among the folklorists of the world about what folklore is. It is very difficult to settle this question and it has not been settled anywhere, so there has been no attempt to enter into the controversy. But the stand we have taken in this study to distinguish folklore has been clearly stated in the body of text. The problem of Great Tradition—the literary tradition of national epics like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata or Hitopadesh, Panchatantra and others including the medieval Bengali literature, which has been inextricably woven into folk tradition—is there. Another problem is confronted when we consider the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, history and popular literature, their relations to folklore. Since modern scholarship is being directed to cooperative way, the best interest of each requires as much knowledge as possible on each subject, and hence we have tried to accommodate as much material as possible from folklore and its neighbouring subjects for which some scholars may charge us for having included here materials beyond the province of Bengal folklore. This has been wilfully done since no boundary of 'thus far and no further' limited our study. Moreover, it is designed to show the beginning. It will also factually prove that folklore study of Bengal is not a new thing. It started in the thirities of the last century, if not earlier, and the claim of some scholars of Bengal that it is a thing of present-day scholarship is far from the truth.

Here a pertinent point may be raised on the present-day scholar-

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ship in India quoting Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the eminent historian. Dr. Majumdar presiding over the 183rd annual meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta said that the critical spirit in the historiography, socio-cultural and indological studies were unknown in India in the eighteenth century and had been introduced by the British and other European scholars and administrators. But "there seems to be a feeling in some quarters that with the political boundage imposed by the British we should also snap the bound of rigorous restraint demanded by the critical method of study and research. And from this teaching perhaps the quality of the present-day doctoral theses are generally very poor, but what is more disconcerting is that they bore the stamp of approval by the university teachers who supervise the work or serve as examiners. So the standard adjudged by teachers as sufficient for a doctor's degree had considerably declined and even a deplorable lack of true critical method displayed throughout the thesis does not weigh with them seriously. Cases are not unknown when the authors of books propounding the most fantastic theories in violation of all accepted canons of critical principles have been given high academic distinction and status by universities." He feels that the brilliant students did not care to take up research preparatory to their career. Even those who did use it merely as a stepping-stone and "the result is that many research fellows drop out after a short period and the money spent on them is simply wasted. The arrangements made for guidance and supervision is neither adequate nor satisfactory might also be a reason of scholars dorp-out. There is lack of provision everywhere in the country during the two decades of independence for research in the history and civilization of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and China which, apart from their intrinsic academic value, had an important bearing upon the history and culture of ancient India. For studies on these subjects, Indian scholars are entirely dependent on the Western scholars, though large sums of money from public funds were being spent annually for the promotion of advanced study and research". It portrays of the wrong way of treating the researchers by the wrong persons. However, this statement from a veteran educator of India provides a picture of the other side of research and study over which we are not concerned but have mentioned as a matter of fact, since this is not a doctoral thesis nor we believe in violating the law of any accepted theories or principles in our researches neither do we claim it as a first-rate survey.

In this study we have not tried to arrest folklore within any wall for two reasons. First, in this formative stage and scientific age we need to be a bit lucid to attract the attention of large number of

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intelligentsia, researchers, investigators, and hobbyists, and second, scholars of Bengal folklore have not yet been able to define the subject scientifically, viz., what is folklore, what is not, how a folklore is to be identified, how it should be classified etc. For a comprehensive study what folklore is, how it is transmitted, how it functions, why folklorists study folklore are important things. Along with these, the characteristics of Bengal folklore, how it can be a vehicle for education, solidarity, integration and mass communication, how it operates for social uplift, how it indicates social changes, and so on and so forth can be the subject matter of another study. This part of study is absent here because it is mainly interested in a survey report. This is, no doubt, a random survey. More extensive survey work can also undertaken with research assistants and scholars. But we are economically handicapped and inspite of our hard labour for ten years we have not yet been able to receive any help or assistance from any quarters because we are concerned more with work than with poilitics. In this connection, it will not be too far to say that when the national leaders of India say that imaginative faculty, initiative and drive etc. in the young people are not found or they are on downward journey, there are people who will like to challenge this statement with facts. By uttering such words the leaders either betray their ignorance or neglect the genuine and sincere efforts, and then, when ignoring all obstacles the people with drive go ahead with their projects, they are criticised for shortcomings. Critics never consider or treat the works sympathetically neither do they offer any positive help or suggestion for developing and improving the works. These critics play a negative role and our leaders are sometimes guided by them which is the experience that we have gained in the last ten years. In this way, we know, this study will also be criticised. Still then if it comes to any use to our researchers the labour of the contributor will be fruitful. Because further study will automatically come up from conscious scholars, matured scholars who will at least get some materials ready at hand and who may also condemn this study for its incompleteness or charge for carelessness for not including items which are left out. Anyway, we repeat again that we are being serving the cause with the best of our ability, knowledge and scope and are not unconscious of our shortcomings and limitations.

Today, we are all in motion, and to know each other we must know the nature of various movements going on in front and around us, and for this we should enrich our knowledge from research and methodological investigation. No need to point out here that human intelligence is declining at an alarming rate, and that if the present rate of decline

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continues for another fifty years, the number of people with superior ability would be half, and the number of feeble-minded would be doubled. So there is the necessity to encourage intelligent thought and effort of the young and old and to induce in them an alert perception of their own responsibilities simultaneously with respect for others. This will prepare our people to understand the present by appreciating the past, and offer them an opportunity to assess all possibility to gauze comprehensively the features of ours. An enriched understanding of the past along with the contemporary events will make for better relations, a better social, civic, and political outlook toward a common object—a better world, moral awakening for a more human condition.

The range of the study has been widened by including notes, a select bibliography, some maps, and a few tables. The statistics contained here have greater accuracy because they have been taken from authentic sources. Interesting light has been thrown here on different schools and types of folklore study where the scope of expansion are not overruled. The forms, kinds, and classifications of folklore are also touched briefly. Rather than dividing the study subject-wise, that is, on folksong, folkart & craft, folk literature etc. we have divided the study as Western scholars and administrators, United Bengal, West Bengal, Eastern Pakistan etc. and this has been done wilfully. The impact of growing literacy, increasing political and social changes, and consciousness among the masses has been quite pronounced on the development of folklore study in Bengal. The general keenness of the people to keep themselves well informed about their tradition, culture, etc. together with what is happening in the national and international fields are striking points. Suddenly we are exposed to this new situation on the attainment of independence while the changes and reforms in the folklore study of Bengal is a matter of current thing. The study, in the present form will speak of the vastness of work done so far in Bengal and will also provide essential and basic points for our scholars and investigators.

Necessary to state that the present body of text is prepared from the manuscript of the two lectures which the author delivered in 1966 and at the suggestion of Professor Dr. Heinz Mode, Director, Archaeological Institute and Buddhist Research Centre, Martin Luther University, Halle/Saale, Germany and Professor Dr. Dusan Zbavitel, Head, Department of Indology, Oriental Institute, Praha, Czechoslovakia this is published in the present form. In order to comprehend the study of folklore in Bengal, we must widen our knowledge. We have no book that offers basic information on the study of Bengal folklore. Here I have tried to treat it as fully as possible. If the present work contri-

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butes in any degree to turn to a brighter page of our national existence and to turn towards traditional study, my labours, humble and unworthy as they are, will not be in vain and I shall be immensely gratified.

S. S. G.

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CHAPTER : ONE : INTRODUCTION

1

Folklore study requires international breadth of vision because folklore transcends all barriers of political and geographical boundaries, language and culture. Yet the study of folklore developed on national lines. During the past decades its value and fascination have grown phenomenally and it has of late been recognised that many phases of folklore have something rewarding for everyone. In one sense art and culture are based on folklore and tradition, it provides the basis for man's noblest monuments of achievement.

Perhaps our weakest link now is an understanding of the subject and to know the activities of other countries. The same impulses that have led to the study of national history and national literature have urged the pursuit of national folklore.

In approaching the subject from the past, one is likely to be regarded as unorthodox. An orthodoxy, however derived, has become something of an obsession in anthropology ; and particularly in the socio-economic survey. It is a risk we have to take, in attempting a brief history of folkloristics in Bengal for two things ; first, to present this study we should start from the century-old works when Bengal was united. Most of these works are not readily available and again for a proper justice to the subject more researches were necessary ; second, to present an accurate picture we should give some idea in its continuty from the past where also we may fail for obvious reasons.

2

Bengal is one of the most important states of India which was divided in August 1947. (See map No. 1.) It is superfluous to add here that West Bengal is not Bengal nor East Pakistan is Bengal. The location maps will help readers to form an idea of its geographical boundary. Bengal, according to this study, was the whole

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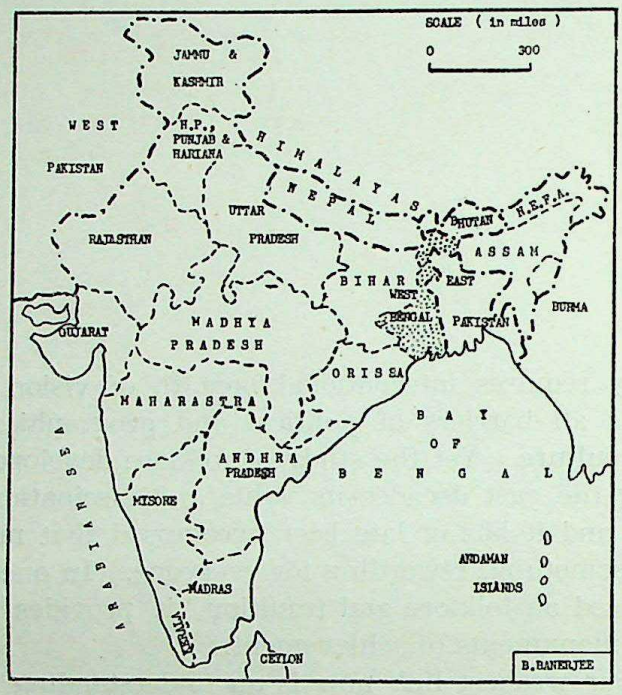

Fig. 1. India upto 1947.

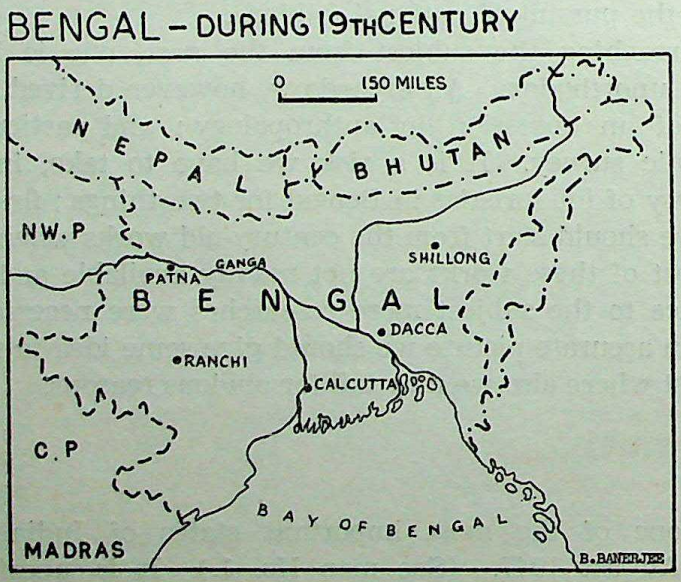

Fig. 4. Bengal upto 1911.

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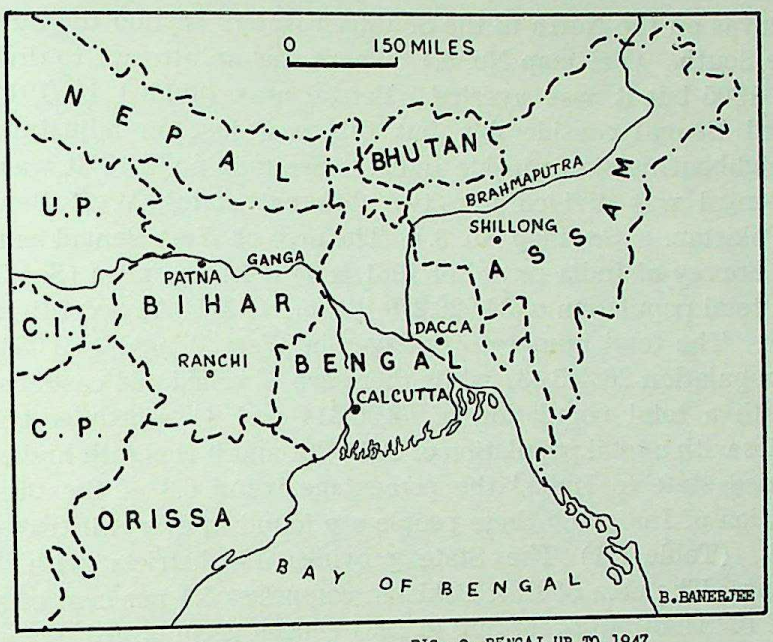

FIG. 2. BENGAL UP TO 1947

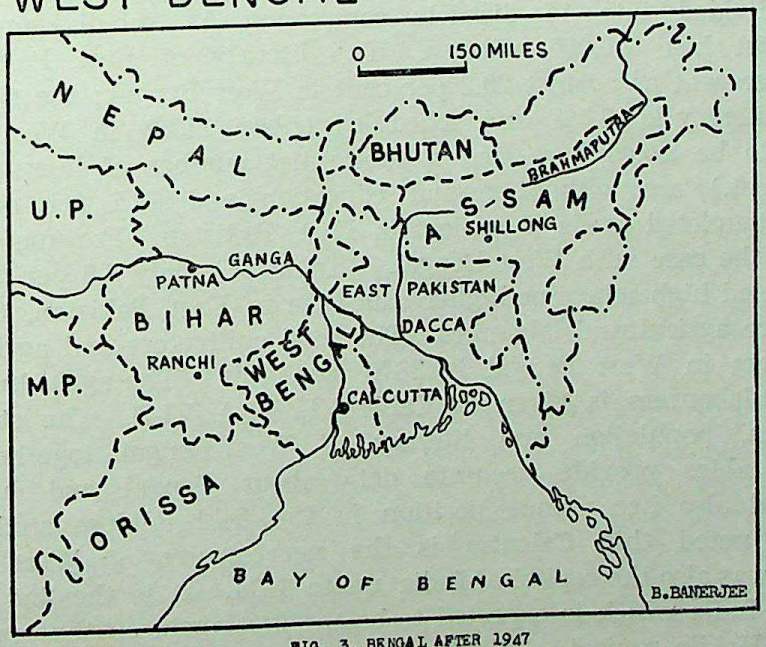

FIG. 3. BENGAL AFTER 1947

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of Eastern India that stretched from the Chota Nagpur pleateau of the present Bihar on the West to the river Karatoya on the East and the Himalayas on the North to the Southern waters beyond the Sundarbans on the South. (See map No. 4.) There was an attempt to divide Bengal in 1905 but it was averted. Bengal was divided in 1911 which crippled Bengal considerably but this was just an adjustment with the neighbouring states inside India. (See map no. 2.) It was in 1947 that Bengal was divided into two different states, West Bengal and East Pakistan. (See map No. 3.) The area of West Bengal as recorded in the Survey of India record of 1961 is 34,194.1 sq. miles (See Table 1) with a total population of 34,926,279, (Table II & II-A) according to 1961 Census. The total number of villages in West Bengal is 38,530 and a rural population 26,385,437 while there are 63 scheduled caste communities with a total population of 68,90,314 and 41 scheduled tribe communities with a total population of 20,54,081 and it is eighth highest tribal populated state in India,[1] the percentage being 6.8 of the total tribal population of India and these people are found in every district of West Bengal. (Table III) The State provides 16 districts with 83 subdivisions. The area of East Pakistan comprises 5.1 per cent of the land area of Pakistan but according to 1961 census it contained 42.2 per cent of the total population of the country.[2] It provides 4 divisions and divided into 17 districts comprising 53 sub-divisions. East Pakistan has 600,000 villages. The literacy of East Pakistan is 17.6 per cent as against 29.3 per cent in West Bengal ; the scheduled caste literacy is 13.6% and scheduled tribes' 11.2% in West Bengal. It is to be noted here that a substantial number of literates (16.2 per cent,) are without formal education and 63.5 per cent had only completed grade V or less in East Pakistan. Fortunately this is not the case with West Bengal. (Table IV) Only 3.8 per cent had completed high school or higher education in East Pakistan. 85.3 per cent are agricultural labourers. The total cultivators and agricultural labourers in West Bengal is 38.51 per cent.[4] The agricultural and factory labourers is given in Table VI, VI-A VI-B. The statement of area, population and literacy of West Bengal together with other tables provide accurate data about Bengal and her people and also her unique position in the field folklore study. It is to be noted that Calcutta is the nerve-centre of West Bengal which was also the capital of India up to 1911. It is the 2nd biggest city of India which is expected to be the first again on the completion of the Haldia project. Calcutta has five Chambers of Commerce, one Stock Exchange, more than 3513 factories against 3,371 in West Bengal. It covers 490 sq. miles with a population of 75 millions.[5] It stretches from

TABLE I
Rural area and rural population

Sl. no.	Union territory/state	Total area sq. miles	Rural area sq. miles	No. of villages	Persons	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	India	1,178,995	564,718	564,718	359,772,165 *	183,073,975	176,361,632
2.	West Bengal	34,194.1	33,535.1	38,530	26,385,437	13,579,044	12,806,393

* Excludes Goa, Daman & Diu. Source : Census of India, 1961, part II.

TABLE II
Population

S.l No.	Union Territory state	Total	Male	Female	Literate Male	Literate Female	Cultivators Male	Cultivators Female	Agricul. labours Male	Agricul. labours Female
1.	India	439,235,082	226,293,620	212,941,462	77,828,163	27,505,118	66,406,765	33,013,198	17,311,174	14,170,831
2.	W. Bengal	34,926,279	18,599,144	16,327,135	7,454,006	4,771,658	2,771,658	567,228	1,446,721	324,987

Source : Census of India, 1961, part 1 of 1962.

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TABLE II-A

Variation of Population

Sl. No.	Union territory State	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	India	236,281,245	252,122,410	251,352,261	279,015,498	318,701,012	361,129,622	439,235,082
2.	W. Bengal	16,941,873	18,000,661	17,476,273	18,899,118	23,231,829	26,302,386	34,926,279

Source : Census of India, 1961, part 1 of 1962.

TABLE IV

Literacy

	Per centage of			Scheduled caste			Scheduled tribes		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1. India	24.0	34.5	13.0	10.3	16.9	3.3	8.5	13.8	3.2
2. W. Bengal	29.3	40.1	17.0	13.6	21.6	4.6	6.5	11.2	1.8

NOTE : "The test of literacy for 1961 census was satisfied if a person above the age of 4 could with understanding both read and write. The correct procedure of computing literacy ratio would be to exclude the age group 0-4 from population of the males and females. But as this information is not available so far, the rates have been computed on the total population. Thus effective rates will be higher than given in the table."

Source : Census of India, 1961 part 1 of 1962.

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Kalyani on the North-east to Kalyanpur on the South-east and comprises 33 municipalities and 37 non-municipal areas. The region extends ribbon-like on the two banks of the Hooghly river. Three East India Companies (i) the Dutch from Chinsura, (ii) the French from Chandannagar (iii) The English from Fort William, Calcutta made regular advances to the rural artisans and collected their products for despatch to Europe. A number of scattered settlement began to grow. The Hooghly river played a major role to that effect while present siltation of the Hooghly seriously theatens the port of Calcutta. This called for comprehensive planning and development programmes to formulate which the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation was set up by the State Government in 1961. The study group attached to the Calcutta Metropolitan organisation have delineated the zone for primary planning which is shown in map no 5. It contains about 42% of the urban populations of Eastern India and 91% of the urban populations of West Bengal. The growth of the city was related to the arrival of Job Charnock in 1690 in Sutanati, adjoining Govindpur and Kalikata villages.

The downfall of Moghul Empire began after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 which gave the English East India Company an opportunity to stabilise its position in India. The work of strengthening the Fort William started in 1707 and completed in 1716. In 1740 Alivardi ascended the Musnad of Subahdar of Bengal. At this time English had their headquarter in Calcutta, the French at Chandannagar and the Dutch at Chinsura which we have already mentioned in the previous paragraph. Alivardi had no desire to disturb these traders and he did not want that "they should leave his dominion, as he could extort money from them from time to time whenever pressed by financial needs. The English and the French were fully aware of this attitude of the Nawab, which served as a safeguard to their carrying on the trade in the province. In April 1756, Alivardi died and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-dulah, who entrusted a hostile attitude towards the English for various grounds . . . he attacked Calcutta when Drake, the Governor of Fort William, fled down the river . . . Siraj-ud-dulah having determined to drive the Europeans settled in their fortification, began operation with the English first as he apprehended from them greatest resistence. Accordingly he invaded Calcutta Fort William, the East India Company's Residency of Bengal, on the 15th June, 1756 . . . On the receipt of the news of distress at Calcutta Robert Clive, a servant of the East India Company, who was appointed as Governor of Fort St. David, S. Arcot, Madras, proceeded with his troops to Bengal, recovered Calcutta and Hooghly early in January 1757 and restored the English their former

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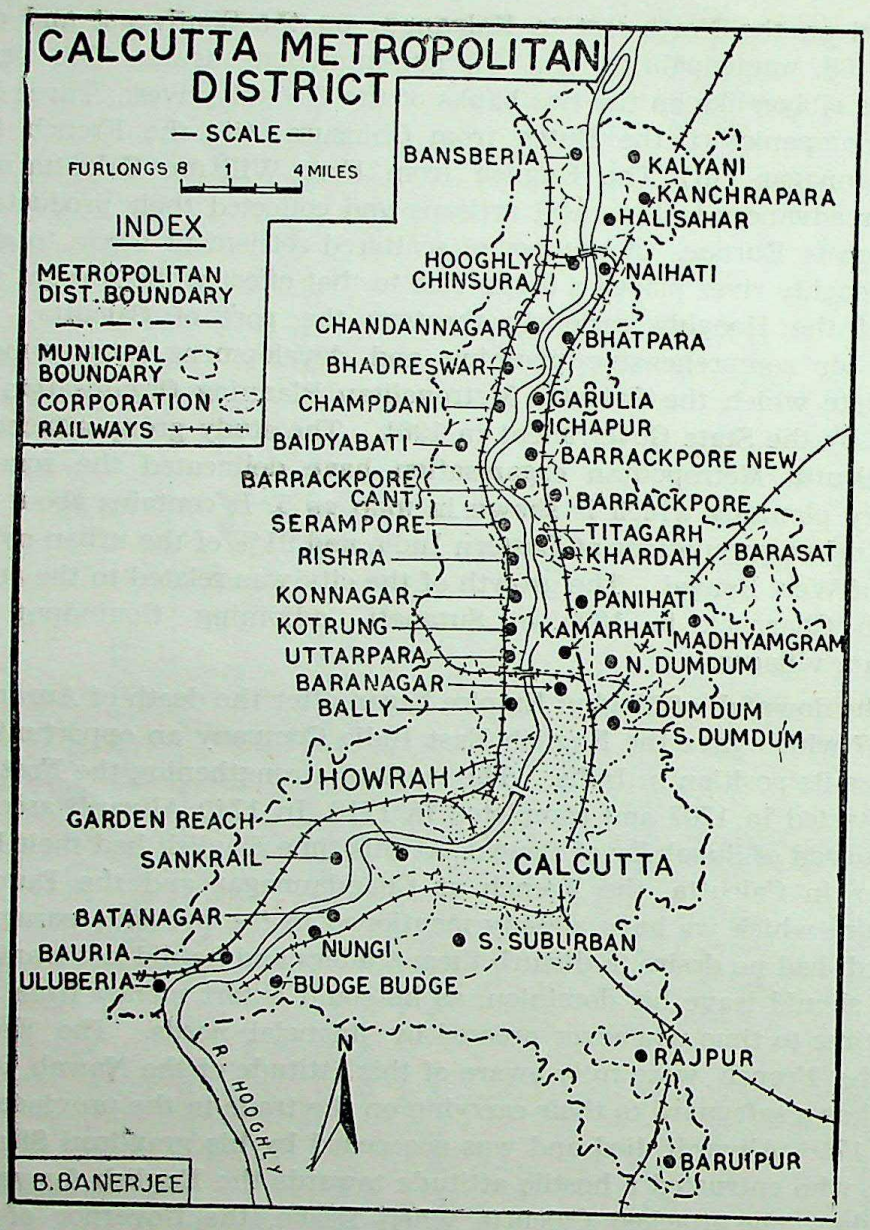

Fig. 5.

TABLE III

Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal—Districtwise figure (1961 Census)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
State/District.	Total Population	Total Scheduled Caste Population.	Percentage distribution of the Sch. Caste population in each district to total Sc. Caste population of the State.	Percentage of Total Sch. Caste population in each district to the tota population of that district.	Total Scheduled Tribe population.	Percentage distribution of Sch. Tribe population in each district to the total Sc. Tribe population of the State.	Percentage of Total Sc. Tribe population in each district to the total population of that district.
West Bengal	3,49,26,279	68,90,314	100.00	19.73	20,54,081	100.00	5.88
Darjeeling	6,24,640	82,381	1.2	13.19	96,444	4.7	15.44
Jalpaiguri	13,59,292	4,18,655	6.1	30.80	3,54,741	17.3	26.10
Cooch Behar	10,19,806	4,78,313	6.9	46.90	8,809	0.4	.86
West Dinajpur	13,23,797	2,86,453	4.2	21.64	1,70,149	8.3	12.85
Malda	12,21,923	1,63,433	2.4	13.38	99,522	4.8	8.14
Murshidabad	22,90,010	2,82,168	4.1	12.32	31,452	1.5	1.37
Nadia	17,13,324	3,50,162	5.1	20.44	21,932	1.1	1.28
24th Parganas	62,80,915	15,24,922	22.1	24.28	1,19,318	5.8	1.90
Calcutta	29,27,289	1,26,652	1.8	4.33	2,520	0.1	.09
Howrah	20,38,477	2,99,791	4.3	14.71	6,111	0.3	.30
Hooghly	22,31,418	4,45,208	6.5	19.95	90,160	4.4	4.04
Burdwan	30,82,846	7,53,883	10.9	24.45	1,80,143	8.8	5.84
Birbhum	14,46,158	4,21,344	6.1	29.14	1,06,860	5.2	7.39
Bankura	16,64,513	4,92,700	7.2	29.60	1,73,389	8.4	10.42
Midnapur	43,41,855	5,63,406	8.2	12.98	3,29,736	16.1	7.59
Purulia	13,60,016	2,00,843	2.9	14.77	2,62,858	12.8	19.53

Source : **Handbook of Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of West Bengal.**

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TABLE V

Agricultural and factory labourers

No. Sl. 1	State/Indian territory. 2	Agricultural laborers in 1000. 3	Factory employment in 1000. 4	Number of Agricultural labourers per 100 factory workers. 5	Percentage of workers as cultivators (all workers=100) 6	Percentage of Workers as agricultural labourers (all workers=100) 7	Percentage of other workers (all workers=100) 8
1.	India	31,482	4,111	766	56.82	16.71	30.47 (4.22)
2.	West Bengal	1,772	795	223	38.50	15.30	46.20(11.39)

Figures within brakets indicate the proportion of workers in manufacturing other than household industry.

Source : The Indian Labour Year Book, 1965.

NOTE : Indian rural economy which comprises agricultural (including animal husbandary, forestry and fishery) and rural industries, accommodates nearly 82 per cent of the total population of the country and contributes nearly 43 per cent of the total national income. The rural sector which is predominated by agriculture is generally characterised by uneconomic holdings low per-acre and per worker productivity, mass and disguised underemployments low per capita income somewhere near the subsistence level and overhelming use of primitive technology. The proportion of agricultural-income has come down from 49 in 1950-51 to 43.2 in 1964-65 and during the period of 1950-51 to 1964-65 the cropped area under food grains increased by 18 per cent whereas the total tural population 30 per cent. (From The Report on Currency and Finance, 1955-65).

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position there".[6]

Siraj-ud-dulah removed Mir Jafar Ali Khan from the post of the Commander-in-Chief. Clive declared war against Siraj on the 13th June, 1757. On the 19th June, Major Eyre Coote captured Katwa Fort who came to Bengal along with Clive. Clive was appointed Governor of Fort William at Calcutta because he defeated Siraj. He declared Mir Jafar Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and it was the greater Bengal.

West Bengal has a total population of 35 millions as on March 1, 1961 (males 18,599,144 and females 16,327,135). The sex ratio of the state for every 1000 males is 878 females. The highest sex ratio is in Bankura district (for every 1000 males 981 females) and the lowest in Calcutta (for every 1000 males 612 females). The States's literacy as a whole is 293 per 1000 persons (401 males and 170 females). Table No. IV & IV-A will illustrate breakdown figure.

Here it is necessery to treat caste. Since some anthropologists have taken lead in this we have not gone to that but have mentioned their name in the appropriate places. Still then it can be said that the real untouchbility or caste restriction is not visible in Bengal as that is found in South India or in its neighbouring state like Bihar where even the political parties are guided by caste considerations. This has been found in selecting candidates for the last general election. In Bengal untouchability means that persons of certain castes cannot sit on the same seat or eat side by side. This is also getting changed. Some have suggested that the caste system is weakening due to Western education and influence. This is a wrong reading of the case. It has been changed and is changing as a matter of course where economic factors have a great part to play. Another point is to be noted. In Bengal, local religious beliefs and customs extant even now in the worship of trees, animals, stones etc. and these are worshipped as the symbols of some gods and goddesses.[7] The prominent among them are females, while in the Aryan pantheon the male gods predominate and females are very few and representated always as consort of some important gods. In Bengal, the mother goddess and Siva have always been predominent and even now she as Kali, Durga or others is greatly revered. After the excavation of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and other explorations in different sites of India and West Bengal, the importance and prevalence of them had been traced back to pre-Aryan age and as such they maintain monopoly of reverence in Bengal for at least 6000 years, which remain unabated even today. The local gods and goddesses force their entity under their names or grabs whenever a new faith is introduced among the people with a new worship. For example, even in Buddhist religion, mother goddess appeared in the garb of Tara and

TABLE IV-A

Area and Literacy of West Bengal except Calcutta District

District.	Area in sq. miles.	Total Persons	Male	Famale	No. of person to 1000 persons Literate.	No. of Males to 1000 Males	No. of Females to 1000 Famales	Proportion of Rural/Urban Population to 1000 total population. Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Darjeeling	1,600	324,640	335,036	289,604	287	401	155	768	232
Jalpaiguri	2,407	1,359,292	733,339	625,953	192	271	100	909	91
Cooch Behar	1,289	1,019,086	539,694	480,112	210	314	93	930	70
W. Dinajpur	2,052	1,323,797	694,372	629,425	171	260	12	925	75
Malda	1,436	1,221,923	621,990	599,933	138	215	58	958	42
Murshidabad	2,056	2,290,010	1,160,283	1,129,727	160	232	84	915	85
Nadia	1,514	1,713,324	879,430	833,894	272	358	182	816	184
24th Pgs.	5,285	6,280,915	3,366,805	2,914,110	325	439	193	682	318
Howrah	575	2,038,477	1,127,392	991,085	369	484	227	595	405
Hooghly	1,216	2,231,418	1,179,267	1,052,151	347	461	218	740	260
Burdwan	2,716	3,082,846	1,658,976	1,423,870	296	394	181	818	182
Birbhum	1,757	1,446,158	732,922	713,236	221	324	115	930	70
Bankura	2,653	1,664,513	840,423	824,090	231	362	97	927	73
Midnapore	5,258	4,341,855	2,224,073	2,117,782	273	417	122	923	77
Purulia	2,415	1,360,016	689,351	670,665	178	302	50	932	68

Source : Census of India, 1961, part 1 of 1962.

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TABLE VI-A

Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe workers in cultivation or agricultural labourers

Sl. No.	Union territory/state	Cultivator including agricultural labourers			No. of persons working as agricultural labourers		
		Total	Sc. castes	Sc. tribes	Total	Sc. castes	Sc. tribes
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	India	9,94,17,101	1,14,50,604	1,15,21,332	3,14,80,075	1,04,53,759	33,33,170
2.	W. Bengal	44,58,779	9,44,643	5,02,070	17,71,708	6,51,989	2,92,421

Source : Report of the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, India, 1963-64 by Anil K. Chanda.

TABLE VB

Educated persons, workers and others

Union territory/state	Literate educated persons		Total workers		Proportion of Rural/Urban Population to 1000 total population		Population per sq. miles
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Rural	Urban	
1. India	77,828,163	27,505,118	129,015,633	59,401,709	820	180	370
2. W. Bengal	7,454,006	2,771,658	10,040,239	1,539,956	755	245	1,032

Source : Census of India, 1961 Part I of 1962.

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gradually Tara, Kali, Durga become synonyms. Such examples can be multiplied and which require a book-size space. Since we are concerned with a different study we have just pointed out this. Some distinguished scholars have treated this with ability and the mention of a few of them have been made in this study in suitable places.

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CHAPTER : TWO : WHAT IS FOLKLORE ?

However, let us proceed to the domain of folklore studies of Bengal. Folklorists as is well known are confronted with a great many problem as to what is folklore. "This problem is particularly evident with such types as custom, religion, belief, and superstition. Even in the field of literature difficulties arise. Indian scholars put considerable emphasis on Great Tradition, literary tradition of the national epics, because much of the material there is inextricably woven into the folk tradition. . . .

The problem of what is, and is not, folklore is also present when we consider the disciplines of anthropology, sociology. . . . Lines between folklore and anthropology, sociology, enthnology, literature and other disciplines can never be precisely drawn, and certainly, the best interest of each requires as much knowledge as possible of all, and co-operative efforts".[8]

Therefore, some broad items can be enlisted to illustrate the idea as to what we mean by the word 'folk-lore'.[9] By the word 'folk-lore' a folklorist means—myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, riddles, folk verses, folk beliefs, folk superstitions, customs, folk drama, folk song, folk music, folk dance, ballads, folk cults, folk gods and goddesses, rituals, festivals, magic, witchcraft, folk art and craft, and a variety of forms of artistic expression of oral cultural or rural and tribal folks or 'unlettered' city dewellers that bind man to man. This account of folklore study in Bengal is a preliminary one. The above list provides a sampling of some of the forms of folklore. In short, folklore is the accumulated knowledge of homogeneous people, tied together not only by common physical bonds, but also by emotional ones, giving unity and individual distinction. For a proper assessment of the subject it is, therefore, necessary to undertake investigation. For investigation and survey work we are to abide by certain disciplines of study. Naturally, the study of folklore or folkloristics is interlinked with social and cultural anthropology,

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sociology, psychology, linguistics, literature, pre- and proto-history, archaeology and allied disciplines. It has its own course and character also. It is to be noted in this connection that the materials and the study of them both are referred to as folklore. To avoid confusion we have used folklore for materials and folkloristics for the study of materials following the suggestion of Prof. Alan Dundes of the California University. (The Study o Folklore, 1965). *

The folkloristics came into vogue in Bengal not in response to meet academic research or needs, but to serve administration and to satisfy enthusiasts.[10] So it had made little progress in academic research in comparison with the West. The blame must, to a great extent, go to an inadequate policy, and a neglect of the subject by the persons whose opinion matter in the academic world. It is still an optional subject of study in some universities[11] and that too as a part of either literature or anthropology, but not as an independent subject. It is no doubt a good sign that inspite of the apathetic attitude serious and selfless workers and students are getting more and more interested in folkloristics which will ultimately lead others to love the cause and to muster strong in the movement because the study of folklore results in an increased awareness of cultural heritage, and a new approach to literary understanding.

Types of Folklore

The science of folklore is a branch of study that collects, classifies, preserves, and deals with the materials covering all aspects of folk life. It attempts to interpret the life and culture of a people evolving through the ages. The affiliation of folklore with (i) action, (ii) science, (iii) linguistics, and (iv) literature is well recognised. Hence its study is directed at the *action type* which includes imitation and artistic application of bodily movement, dance, drama, music, gesture, practical jokes, games, and other amusements, customs, mime, religious ceremonies, rituals, folk arts, crafts, folk paintings, and the kind ; the *science type* that covers the beliefs, ideas, folk philosophy myth, wisdom, superstition, anecdotes, witchcraft, magic, ghostlore, pro-

* I believe, 'folklorology' would be a more suitable word than 'folkloristics' for the study of materials. I used this word in "Folklore Research in India : Officials Proceedings of the All India Folklore Conference", Calcutta, 1964 which has also been appreciated by same folklorists. Both the words are used here so that the readers many decide for themselves which one will be befitting considering all its aspects.

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phecy, cures, remedies and the kind ; the *linguistic type* that constitutes the study of speeches, jokes, charms, verses, blessings, proverbs, riddles, epigrams, parables, grammar and others while the *literary type* is the aristrocratic one that deals with folk literature, folk tales, legends, epics, ballads, songs, festivals, and the kind which are directly or indirectly connected with literature. Then again, the modern folklorists divide folklore in two distinct groups. 1. Formalised folklore, 2. Materialised folklore. Handicrafts, sewing, clayworks and the type comes to formalised group while the materials of literature, that is, tales, legends, verses, ballads etc. comes to materialised group. This is just an outline of different types of folklore.[12] Different scholars of Bengal have treated different types of folklore. But a great many earlier works lack scientific accuracy.[13]

Forms and Classification of Folklore

Briefly, the forms of one branch of folklore may be equated with the forms of the other, with exceptions in style and structure caused by the oral nature. One of the characteristic of folklore is its great persistence in respect of form. Content of folklore may vary, but form is relatively stable which can be seen in new riddles or new ballads. In a new riddle—riddle form and in a new ballad—the formula remains the same. The study of form is the logical beginning for the study of folklore. After one has delineated the structures of riddle, the patterns of myth, and formal intricacies of folk dance, one should be in much better position to define these folklore genres, to hypothesise about their origins, and to investigate their functions. Patterns present in folk music may also be found in other forms of folklore. Also, some patterns in folklore may be found in non-folklore.

There are five basic literary forms of folklore, such as, biography, fiction, poetry, drama, and essay. Of these, fiction and poetry are widely representated in folklore, drama, and biography (legend ; imaginary biography) considerably, but hardly the essay as a separate form.

John Macy in *The Story of the World's Literature* suggested folk literature at length is history, epic, lyric, poetry, drama, philosophy, the novel, the essay, and the short story etc. so "folklore can boast of 'history' (ballads, myths, and legends), epics (pre-eminently), lyric poetry (songs and verses), drama, and shown of much obsession with literary form, short stories (folktales)". Formal philosophy, of course, is hardly present in folk literature, nor is the novel. The folk novel is

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the epic or the cycle of legends. Speaking of folklore, Macy goes on to say, 'We can allow ourselves a contradiction and say that there was a kind of literature before literature.' "Some of the materials of literature, the thoughts, must have been created long before they were written down", ("Fundamentals of Folk literature", 1962).

A fine treatment of 'Literary Genres' is that presented by R. Wellek and A. Warren in their *Theory of Literature,* 1949. "Most modern literature (Dichtung) into fiction (novel, short story, epic), drama (whether in prose or in verse), and poetry (concerning on what corresponds to the ancient 'lyric poetry')". (Ibid).

Now we will turn to classification as per R. S. Boggs whose form of the classification has got international recognition.

The classification of types of folklore offered here is designed for those whose special interest is in folklore. This classification tries to provide a place, too, for various types of background data the folklorist cannot ignore about the region and people among whom he collects his folklore.

From major to minor important, the different ranks of headings used here are called *groups* (designated by capital A to Z), *categories* by hundreds numbers (000—999), *types* by ten numbers (00—09), *forms* unit number (0—9) etc.

No matter what system of classification is used, the unity of the field will always present many interrelations among its various parts, which are indicated by cross references.

The question of whether certain materials should be classified in one section or another often can be resolved by determining which section's topic is in greatest accord with the major interest of the materials as presented in each case. For example, if the major interest in musical instruments is in their manufacture, such materials are classiled under Art and Craft but they go under Music if the interest is chiefly in the way the instruments are played and the kind of music they produce.

Key Designations

A GENERAL FOLKLORE

Scholars—Bio-bibliographical data of the folklorists
Research Material Methods . . .

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B PROSE NARRATIVES

Myth—Relation of events significant in the establishment of national order . . .

Legend—Story based on specific persons places things. . .

Tale—Simple or complex episodic structure concerning events not dependent upon very specific elements of persons place or time. . .

C BALLAD SONG DANCE GAME MUSIC VERSE

Ballad epic—Narrative in verse with music

Song—Lyric in verse with music

D DRAMA

Folk play in verse or prose

F CUSTOM FESTIVAL

Different rites element of festival patterns religion or ritual sacrificial rite for special occassion. . . .

G GEOGRAPHY (for subdivisions)

L LANGUAGE (for subdivisions)

M ART CRAFT ARCHITECTURE

Artisans—art & craft products

N FOOD DRINK

Typical menus for the various meals . . . kind of food and its preparation . . . manner of preparation. . . .

P BELIEF

Traditionally accepted concept. . . . expression of fixed form. . . .

S SPEECH

Morphology syntax vocabulary common word. . . .

V PROVERB

Any saying which has become current and traditional in a group . . . proverbial metaphor . . . proverbial apothegm maxim. . . .

W RIDDLE

True riddle—Presumably sufficiently precise in its description to be logically soluable insufficiently precise for logical solution. . . .

Key Designations

Group (A—Z)

Categories (000-900)

Types (00-90)

Forms (0-9)

Divisions (.0-.9)

Subdivisions .(00-.90)

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The order of classification numbers indicating forms, types, divisions, subdivisions are given below taking the help of R. S. Boggs :—

A. GENERAL FOLKLORE

A 200 Bibliography

A 300 Organizations and Their Publications

A 320 Continuous
Societies, associations, institutes, research centres, their periodicals, serial publications. . . .

A 340 Intermittent
Congresses, conferences, festivals, exhibits, contests, their proceedings, programmes. . . .

A 360 Collecting
Archives, libraries, museums, their catalogues, reports. . . .

A 400 Individual Publications

A 420 Folklore Materials
Diverse texts, data, descriptions. . . .

A 440 Studies
Diverse monographs, essays, dissertation, theses about folklore.

A 460 Folklorists
Life and works of collectors and scholars, biographies, biographic dictionaries, collected writings of individuals.

A 500 Background and Environmental Factors

A 530 Land

A 532 Topography

A 533 Climate

A 536 Products

A 538 Division
.2 Atlas, map, geographic dictionary
.4 Natural
.5 Political
.6 Ecclesiastical
.8 Public and private lands and boundaries

A 560 People

A 562 Origin History
Demography, vital statistics. . . .

A 564 Roads and routes of travel, commerce, migration, colonization. . . .

A 566 Characteristic traits of groups, sexes, classes, types

A 600 Collection and Classification of Materials

A 620 Informant
Biography, methods of questioning, data of informant about his materials. . . .

A 640 Methods of Collecting and Recording
By manuscript, sound recorder, photography. . . .

A 660 Classification
Questionaire, instructions, guides to field workers

A 700 Science

A 720 Definition
Of folklore, its nature, character, limits, purpose, relations among its different divisions

A 730 Terms
Nomenclature, terminology, symbols abbreviations. . . .

A 740 Theories Principles Analysis
Schools of thought, methods of investigation, interpretation, conclusions about origin, growth, dissemination, disappearance. . . .

A 760 Form Fiction Style

A 770 Beauty Morality

A 780 Teaching

A 782 Organizations
.2 Universities
.4 Secondary Schools
.6 Primary Schools

A 784 Methods Study plans Curricula Courses

A 786 Aids
Text books, handbooks, outlines, anthologies, encyclopedias, dictionaries. . . .

A 800 Value Use Application
Scientific, artistic, practical importance of folklore materials and science to other fields, and relation of folklore to them. . . .

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A 820 History Literature Linguistics
A 830 Anthropology Ethnology Archaeology Sociology Psychology
A 840 Painting Sculpture Architecutre Music and other fine arts
A 850 Education
A 860 Medicine
A 870 Law Religion Philosophy
A 880 Politics Industry Commerce

B. PROSE NARRATIVE
(For verse Narratives, See C 820)

B 200 Myth
Relation of events significant in the establishment of natural order of the universe. . . .
B 220 Creator
B 230 Gods
B 240 Creation and Order of Universe
B 250 Creation and Order of Human Life
B 260 Creation and Order of Animal Life
B 270 Creation and Order of Plant Life
B 280 Characteristics of Animals
B 290 Origin of Characteristics of Plants
B 400 Legends
Story based on specific person, places, things. . . .
B 420 Supernatural Being
B 425 Devil Demon
B 427 Vampire
B 429 Ghost Spirit Phanton Specter
B 430 Human Being
B 432 Religious Hero Heroine
Ram, Siva, Kali Characters of Hindu. Mussalman and biblical, saints. . . .
B 434 Outlaw Docoits. . . .
B 437 Physically handicapped Deformed Mentally diseased or defective. . .
B 440 Animal
B 444 Bird
B 446 Insect
B 448 Fish
B 452 Sun
B 453 Moon
B 454 Planet
B 455 Star
B 464 Lightning Thunder Cloud Rain Hail
B 466 Wind Whirlwind Hurricane Cyclone
B 468 Fire
B 470 Earth
B 472 Formation Plain, Swamp, forest, mountain, valley. . . .
B 474 Mineral
B 475 Plant
B 477 Product or activity of man or animal
Vanished city, haunted house, ruins, hidden treasure. . . .
B 480 Water
.2 Ocean sea
.4 Lake pond
.6 Well Pool
B 484 Running Water
.2 River Stream
.6 Canel fountain
B 600 Tale
Simple or complex episodic structure concerning events not dependent upon very specific elements of persons, place, or time. . . .
B 620 Animal Tale
B 640 Ordinary Tale
B 644 Religious Tale
B 646 Romantic Realistic
B 663 Married couple
B 664 Woman
B 665 Man

C. BALLAD SONG DANCE GAME MUSIC VERSE

C 200 Ballad Epic
Narrative verse with music. . . .
C 300 SONG
Lyric and verse with music
C 320 Emotion
C 322 Love
C 323 Hate
C 324 Joy Happiness
C 325 Sorrow Unhappiness
C 326 Admiration Praise Adulation
C 328 Good humour Jest
C 329 Ill humour Ridicule Mockery
C 330 Daily Life
For custom concering daily life F 530 For vocabulary S 550

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C 334 Work
C 335 Cries of street vendour
C 336 Social reunion
C 340 Crucial moment of Life Cycle
For dance or custom concerning crucial moment in life cycle C 434 or F 540
C 342 Birth
C 345 Marriage
C 346 Death
C 360 Children
C 370 Religious
C 400 Dance
For manufacture of dance mask M 245. For structure in which dance is performed M 868
C 420 Form Grouping Movement
C 422 Individual
C 424 Couple
C 432 Adoration
Dance to honour, gain, favour, avoid harm, from being spirit, thing, force of nature. . . . Is divided like B 200 and B 400
C 436 Festival
C 437 medical
For medical belief P 700
C 482 Musical accompaniment
(For music itself C 600)
C 490 Dramatic
For dramatic dance or drama C 490 or D
C 500 Game Pastime Sport
C 520 Bodily Activity
C 523 Singing Dancing Marcing
C 524 Fighting Racing of people, horse, dogs, cocks. . . .
C 530 Mental activity
C 532 Wit
C 534 Memory
C 536 Knowledge
C 538 Guessing
C 560 Special Object or Implement
Amusement, played with a special object or implement, equipment or apparatus, like cards, wheels, balls, rope, kites. . . .
C 600 Music
Music under words is classified under C 200 Ballad C 300 song etc. For musical accompaniment dance C 482. For materials and methods of making musical instruments M 246 etc.
C 700 Verse Without Music
Metre, rime, poetic structure. . . .
C 720 Narrative Verse
Is divided Like C 200
C 730 Lyrical Verse
Is Divided like C 300 ; C 730.329 ; C 730.334 etc.
C 740 Dance Verse
Is divided like C 400
C 750 Game Verse
C 800 Verse in other Group of Folklore
Also see C 700
C 820 Prose Narrative
(Is divided like B : C 820, 425—like B 425)
C 830 Drama
Is divided like D : C 830.200)
C 840 Custom Festival
C 850 Art Craft Architecture
Is divided like M: C 850.246/.860 etc.
C 855 Food Drink
Is divided like N : C 855 : 800
C 860 Belief
Is divided like C 860 : 646
C 870 Speech
Is divided like C 870 : 570
C 880 Proverb
Is divided like V : C 880.200
C 890 Riddle

D. DRAMA

Also C 480, C 490, C 526, C 830 & M 868

D 200 Religious
D 400 Secular
D 600 Puppet
D 800 Shadow Pantomime

F. CUSTOM FESTIVAL
For verse in custom and festival C 840

F 500 Custom

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Traditional pattern of human action accepted by a group. Also see P 509

F 530 Daily Life
See C 330, S 550

F 532 Home
For eating, sleeping see F 574|8; food, drink, see N.

F 534 Work Commerce Business

F 536 Entertainment Diversion

F 538 Temple, Mosque, Church

F 539 Common Law

F 542 Birth

F 545 Marriage

F 546 Death

F 572 Number system of counting Calculation

F 574 Measure of time

F 600 Festival
Time measure by astronomy Complex unit of customs and other folklore to celebrate a special occasion, usually annually and of public interest. Also see C 436

F 620 Typical Elements of a Festival Pattern
Religious or other ritual, special dress, work taboo. . . .

F 684 Sacrificial rite for special occassion

F 686 Initiation rite

G. GEOGRAPHY

L. LANGUAGE

M. ART CRAFT ARCHITECTURE

M 200 Art Craft

M 220 Raw Material

M 223 Bamboo Cane Wood etc. products

M 226 Clay products, terracottas

M 224 Alpana, ritualistic decoration. . . .

M 228 Human body

M 240 Finished Product

M 343 Household furniture and utensil
Also see N 226 ; N 420

M 224 Toy

M 245 Mask
Also see C 400

M 246 Musical instrument
Also see C 600 ; C 482 ; S 720

M 248 Dress

M 800 Architecture

M 880 Monument

N. FOOD DRINK

N 200 Food

N 222 Typical means for various meals. . .

N 240 Kind of food and its preparation

N 242 Manner of preparation

N 400 Drink

P. BELIEF
Traditionally accepted concept. Also see C 860

P 200 Mythology

P 400 Legend

P 500 Custom

P 700 Medicine

P 750 Remedy

P 754 Plant Herb root, bark. . .

P 840 Spirit Mind Body Dream

P 870 Observation Astrology augury, omen

S. SPEECH

S 200 Phonology Phonetics

S 226 Folk etymology

S 300 Morphology

S 400 Syntax

S 500 Vacabulary

S 520 Common Word

S 530 Folk Name for Plant

S 540 Folk name for Animal

S 552 Underworld

S 555 Game Pastime Sport

S 582 Nickname

S 584 Family Group

S 586 Place

S 600 Gesture

V. PROVERB
Any saying which has become current and traditional in a group

V 200 Proverbial metaphor

V 300 Proverbial Aopthegm Maxim

V 400 Proverbial saying about people or place

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V 600 Proverbial Phrase
V 700 Proverbial Comparison

W. RIDDLE
A thought provoking question which asks for a solution

W 200 True Riddle presumably sufficiently prese in its description to be logically solvable. . . .

W 400 Riddle Question—Insufficiently precise for logical solution

Folklore can also be classified in Social Sciences where it has been divided thus :—

300 Social Sciences

310 Statistics 320 Political Science 330 Economics 350 Public Administration 360 Social Welfare 370 Education 390 Customs and Folklore.

and the subdivisions are

391 costumes 392 customs of life cycle 393 treatment of the dead 396 woman 399 customs of war . . .

In the Universal Decimal Classification folklore has been classified under 39 and is sub-divided as under :—

391/397 ethnography manners 398 popular tradition etc. 398.23 anecdotes, popular humour, jokes etc. 398.33 calender festivals 398.54 folk plays 398.83 nursery rhymes lulabaies etc. 398.85/87 work songs, . . .

954/745 Folk Art of India.

Or by subject and then by subject.

390/615.89 Folk Custom of Curable Method. Geographic headings may be introduced into the classification at any point, as under A 200 Bibliography, by adding, after A 200, the small letter g, followed by the numbers of the G (Geography) headings : A 200 g 390/615.89 Indian folk custom etc.

By assigning classification numbers to the various regions and languages it is possible to sub-divide any categories of folklore according to language or region in which they are found.

This provides a sampling of classification of folklore. No doubt some parts of the field of folklore have had their classification well developed, such as, the *prose narrative* in the *Motif Index of Folk literature* by Stith Thompson, *Types of Indic oral tales* by S. Thompson with R. E. Warren, excellent synthesis of *The proverb* by Archer Taylor and others. By all these, Indian folklorists must develop a system for their own in Indian perspective. Mahapatra has suggested an outline in "Folklore Library", Calcutta, 1966.

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Schools of Folklore

Different types of folklore are being studied by different schools. There are various schools of folklore study, such as, (i) Indic school; (ii) Anthropological school; (ii) Arane-Thompson or Comparative school; (iv) Linguistic school; (v) Psychoanalytical school and so on.

(i) The members of Indic School are generally Sanskrit scholars. They are both linguists and humanists. They deal with their subjects from the point of view of traditional scholarships. Their knowledge of Sanskrit enables them to trace many folk materials to its classical sources. Mention of some Western scholars together with our own scholars may be made in all these schools. Maurice Bloomfield, Grimm Brothers, Theodor Benfey, Max Muller, F. Colebrooke, Rev. James Long, William Jones, F. Buchanon, Hamilton, Richard Francis Burton, B. H. Baden-Pwell, Annie Besant, J. A. B. Van Buitenen, J. T. Wheeler, E. B. Cowell, H. Beverley, Romain Rolland, Maurice Materlink, Sylvain Levy, George Grierson, J. P. Whittington, H. W. Bailay, C. Bendell, R. W. Emerson, J. F. Hewitt, John Muir, H. H. Wilson are remarkable among the foreigners while among the Bengalis we should mention the names of R. C. Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, R. P. Chanda, Nagendranath Vasu, Haraprasad Shastri, N. K. Bhattasali, Radhagobinda Basak, S. K. De, Sukumar Sen, J. N. Banerjee, R. C. Majumdar and others. Most of the Western scholars of this school are of the opinion that India is the mother country of all *marchen* of the world. Here we quote the famous American folklorist who is internationally known, Stith Thompson, who said, "For the purely literary monuments the transmission from East to West is clear enough. We can follow such works as the *Panchatantra* through versions with definite dates and places as it passes into Persion, Arabic, Syrian, Hebrew, and Greek to Europe and Mediaeval Latin literary tradition. The *Seven Sages*, the *Jatakas*, and various parts of *Ocean of Story*—all such classical Indic works appear eventually in the literature of mediaeval Europe, often through the intermediation of learned Jews. These literary streams that have flowed through the Near East have been charted and their courses ascertained with reasonable certainty".[14]

(ii) Anthropology became a distinct academic subject during the nineteenth century. The members of this school derive their inspiration from field as well as laboratory works. Even among the present day anthropologists Boas and Frazer get emphasis besides E. B. Tylor, who introduced the term 'culture' in 1865[15] and defined the same in his book "Primitive Culture", 1871.[16] Morgan's "Ancient Society", 1877, Frazer's "The Golden Bough", 1911-15, abridged 1922; Boas' "Some pro-

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blem of methodology in Social Science", 1930, "Race, language and culture", 1948, Malinowski's "Myth in the primitive psychology" and "scientific theory of culture etc.," 1944 and others are frequently quoted although the earlier book of anthropology is James Cowles Prichard's "The Natural History of Man", 1843 which is being mentioned as an early attempt Folklore serves as an excellent tool for the analysis of the people their culture, norms, behaviour, etc. in the hands of the scholars of this school and they sort it under a broad head of 'material culture'. In their village and enthnographic studies they also utilise folklore to establish rapport with the rural and tribal folks. The scholars of this school include Andrew Long, E. T. Dalton, H. Risely, Rev. Sherring, W. H. R. River, W. R. Bascom, T. C. Hodson, John Hoffman, Milton Singer, Furer von Haimendorf, J. H. Hutton and among our scholars S. C. Roy, S. C. Mitra, K. P. Mitra, P. Mitra, B. N. Dutta, B. S. Guha, K. P. Chattopadhyaya, D. N. Majumdar, R. K. Mukherjee, N. K. Bose, P. C. Biswas, D. Sen, P. C. Basu, S. S. Sarkar, T. C. Das, A. K. Mitra, D. K. Sen, M. N. Basu, and others, besides a number of young anthropologists attached to Anthropological Survey of India, Anthropology Department of different universities and colleges in India and abroad.

(iii) Aarne-Thompson or Comparative School. The members of this school are primarily interested in comparative study and are busy to study European and American folktales. They are particularly interested in collection, classification and comparative study of folklore emphasising the importance of obtaining numerious varieties of a particular tale or any other piece of folklore. The scholars of this school include Stith Thompson, his student J. Balys, C. W. von Sydow, Alan Dundes, R. M. Dorson, K. M. Briggs, J. Bolte, G. Palivka, C. A. Kincaid, R. Troger and among our countrymen D. C. Sen, S. C. Mitra, A. Bhattacharyya and M. Islam. By a more extensive discussion it will be possible to bring out to light some other scholars also in Bengal who endeavoured to make comparative research but in comparison to the foreign scholars in this group the studies made by our scholars are not remarkable with regard to the structure, character, condition, and nature of study.

(iv) Then there is the Linguistic School. The members of this school are interested in linguistic study. In this school foreign scholars like Rev. James Long, J. Koffmann, Van A. Emelen, G. A. Grierson, M. Winternitz, William Carey, F. E. Pargiter and our scholars like S. K. Chatterjee, Sukumar Sen, Muhammad Sahidullah, Syed Murtaja Ali, Abdul Hai, N. K. Dutta are important. There are other scholars of Bengal in this school who are also doing researches impact of whose works yet to be known.

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(v) The last school, according to this division, is Psychoanalytical School. Contemporary anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, economists, geographers all are paying much attention to this subject in recent times and most of the western scholars of this school are well aware of the scientific and modern method of study but in most cases our scholars are not getting proper support and encouragement.

It is to be mentioned as hard fact that among all classes of scholars and enthusiasts classification and comparative study are much favoured, now being regarded as the accepted way to raise the standard, but its versatility has not yet been fully explored. The first constructive step in India in the field of folkloristics in widening up the scope has started with the establishment of "Folklore"[17] (formerly, 'Indian Folklore' 1956-1959) and the formation of the organisation "Indian Folklore Society"[18] in 1957. Due to the encouragment of the members of this society and the journal "Folklore" as also by the sincere efforts of some scholars of the University of Calcutta folk literature of Bengal has got a place in the university curriculam in 1960 when *lokasahitya* (folk literature) was accepted as an optional paper with 100 marks in the Post-graduate class in the modern Indian language of the University of Calcutta.[19] Further encouragements were given by the Rabindra Bharati University.[20] This university has accepted folk music, song, dance and drama in its curriculam at its inception in 1962. Besides, social and cultural anthropologists and other field scientists also use folklore for investigation and analytical purpose.[21] Perhaps it is Indian Folklore Society which first started to work in folklorology in India on a co-operative basis through an organisation taking the help of scholars from different disciplines. In this line the Society has been able to bring out some pioneering monographs most of which are of priliminary nature where there are enough scope for developments.[22] The organisational effort in this study of Bengal folklore will be treated later in a different chapter.

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CHAPTER : THREE : THE PURPOSE OF STUDY

1

The field of folkloristics is vast in Bengal.[23] Here intellectual class stay close to their folk inheritance and hence "the gulf between industrialised and traditional cultures has not yet riven their societies".[24] It should be mentioned that while defining folklore folklorists will say that it should be oral and a traditional product of non-literate society. But in non-literate culture almost everything is transmitted orally, "although language, hunting techniques and marriage rules are passed orally from one generation to another, few folklorists would say that these type of cultural materials are folklore".[25] By the criterion of oral transmission one cannot distinguish folklore from non-folklore. All that is needed is a fresh approach and viewing the subject in its proper perspective. In actual practice, a professional folklorist will never say "that a folktale or a ballad is not a folklore simply because it has at some time in its life history been transmitted by writing or print. But he would never argue that if a folktale or a ballad had *never* been in oral tradition, it is not folklore. It might be a literary production based upon a folk model, but this is not the same as the folk model itself."[26] The whole trouble is due to the fact that most definitions are concerned with 'folk' and there are folklorists who mistakenly identify the folk with peasant society or rural groups. If one were to accept this narrow conception of folk, then by definition one would have to conclude that city dwellers were not folk and city dwellers could have no folklore. If so, what will be the position of the labourers, *Dhangars,* and other workers who are engaged in the work of the cities and also live there with their traditional ways of life ? In Bengal there are some million of such peoples. There are materials other than folklore which we mentioned earlier that are orally transmitted. "Second, there are some forms of folklore which are manifested and communicated almost exclusively in written as opposed to oral form, such as autograph-book verse, book marginalia, epitaphs, and

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traditional letters (e.g. chain letters) . . . . The third difficulty with the criterion of oral transmission concerns those forms of folklore depending upon body movements ; that is, there is some question as to whether folk dances, games, gestures are passed on *orally*. A child may acquire these froms by watching and participating without necessarily being instructed verbally. The same problem is found in folk art" (The Study Folklore, 1965).

If we are ready to accept folklore only as oral and traditional things then can we call Udayshankar or Jamini Roy as exponents of folk dance or folk arts ? Or can we call folk artisans or folk players who live in and around the cities as folk artists ? Therefore, we should define both 'folk' and 'lore' in such a way that even the beginner can understand what folklore is and what is the subject matter of our study. Lore—the materials of folklore rather than the people who use materials—has been described in terms of origin, form, transmission, and function. However, there has been no widespread agreement among the folklorists about what folklore is.[27] In the "Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend", 1959, there are as many as 21 definitions of "folk-lore" and most of these definitions have come from the American scholars. This illustrates the divergent views of folklorists about definition, scope and boundary of folklore. But there is no doubt that when a folklorist studies his subject he is in a real sense studying himself. The ancient dictum "Know Thyself' still challenges modern man. Through our knowledge of humanity from stock of folk experience we make available degrees of delight or instruction fundamental to human life. . . . If we are interested in people, it is not unlikely that we will be interested in folklore. Such lore gives a fascinating sense of continuing with past in both pleasure and wisdom . . . The ultimate purpose of a student of folklore should be an understanding of a tragicomic heart of humanity".[28]

2

Here many of conventional leaks would obviously be avoided and it has been rightly observed by the modern folklorists of Bengal. They believe that care should be taken in selecting folklore, treatment should be made according to the character of study which are to be followed by an accepted discipline. It is from here that one hears the gradual change of society which affects the study if that is not carried on in its correct perspective. It is here again that the scholars of folklore get satisfaction in having participated in great work. Conviction and confidence that we are determined to go ahead requires to be generated

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and consolidated. Faith, it is wellknown, comes in only from success is a truism, failure creates doubt and causes loss of morale, is not riddle. To generate faith, to build up morale, to remove doubts, success stories are very much important so the Indian Folklore Society has undertaken a project to publish bio-bibliographical data of the folklorists of Bengal where the success and failures are described more or less elaborately. (Folklorists of Bengal will be brought out in some volumes, the first part of which appeared in 1965). No doubt, as long as the customs and beliefs were part of reality of the life of the Bengalis, the survival of legends and tales was assured, for customs and beliefs, legends and tales constitute integral part of the community.

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CHAPTER : FOUR : EARLY PHASE

1

One should bear in mind that the Bengali intellect has been stimulated through the contact with the dynamic forces of the Western world.[29] This is also the case with Bengali literature. The idea of Bengal as the land for the Bengalis originated from the Mughals. It is Baktiar Khilji who hoisted the flag of Islam in Bengal and in course of a few years he conquered all parts of Bengal. Prior to the Mughal period, there was the Pala dynasty, Sena dynasty, Gour, Radha, but not be modern Bengal.* (see note at the end of the Chapter.) The Mughal rulers gave modern Bengal a shape which got a definite boundary during the British rule. It is to be noted that the Bengali literature first made contact with the English through translation. The first book rendered into English verse was "Arabian Nights Entertainments", 1831, then "Persian Tales", 1834, "Gay's Fables", 1836, and so on. Gradually this developed into a regular feature. Bengali was still then not a strong language. It is precisely in 1839 when Persian was replaced by Bengali as language of the law and courts Bengali got an official recognition (See S. Sen). Attempts were made to prepare Bengali terminology then. All these gave an unexpected impetus to the cultivation of the Bengali language and to get most of the materials from the folk stock. Amorous romantic tales began to appear. Some of the writers utilised folk stories in their own way. Talented persons and intellectuals began to produce brilliant results in the field of socio-folk-historical studies almost during this time.[30] Growing awareness of ethnographic, village, caste and other studies have helped these efforts and some individuals to collect, publish and preserve folklore materials for the use of scholarship. Most of the collectors of Bengal folklore of that period rendered the job of godown-keeper and this influenced number of the present-day scholars. Huge materials have been collected and gathered from different sources but little attempts were made for display or sort out folklore scientifically. This is perhaps due to not viewing the subject from scientific outlook.

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In organising this study, therefore, efforts have been made by listing names and activities of some scholars and enthusiasts of folklore just to draw an outline of the folkloristics in Bengal since it will not be too far to say, that, from the rigid sense of term, there is no folklorist in Bengal. Indeed, it is not at present possible to make any comprehensive assessment of the contemporary activities because so many scholars and hobbyists have crowded behind folklore and nobody knows what will be their impact in the long run, though a correct study of Bengal folklore in its mainfold aspects is a great need for understanding the various forces that have influenced the society, culture, history and literature of Bengal in different times. It should also be remembered that a considerable part of ancient literature of Bengal folklore consist rules of conduct of *do's* and *dont's* which although extending to all walks of life has an essentially religious character. So it is hardly possible to study Bengal folklore without taking into account its folk religion. It has an unlimited expansion and development of an already ponderous system of law, or rather of law and religion wedded into one solid mass. The aspirations of folk people became restricted to his *hookah* and his lovesongs. In weightier matters the spiritual guide and the interpreter of law regulated his destiny. And thus national character and the production of national intellect acted and reacted on each other. It is capable of occupying that position.

2

It may be said that if there be any foundation of folklorology in Bengal, there ought to be found a distinct line of scholars and amateurs or enthusiasts who regulated the study. Folklore of Bengal is obviously the folklore of the Bengalis, the temporal and spatial extent of its subject matter must be coextensive with the duration of the history of Bengal and spatial dispersion of the people of Bengal. In addition, literate Bengalis developed that habit of commiting to writing whatever they regarded as important in their oral traditions. As a result the history of Bengal folklore may be characterised by a continuous process of lifting out considerable bodies of folklore from the stream of oral tradition and freezing them in written form. This process started with the earliest document. Thus it is hardly possible to distinguish folk literature of Bengal from medieaval Bengali literature,[31] especially the *Mangal Kavyas, Panchalis*[32] and the group. Kabikankan Mukundaram wove his epic more around folklore.

It is difficult to determine the date of oldest Bengali writers,[33] but

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probably few of their books are more than four hundred years old. Vidyapati is certainly one of the first. Mukundaram lived during the reign of Akbar. The *kabi*[34] is a series of songs not often much connected with each other, sung by two opposite bands of performers. Each sought to abuse the other, and the more pungent the abuse, the greater is the triumph of the abuser and the pleasure of the listeners. Here we want to notice Iswarchandra Gupta, who was a remarkable man, before we proceed to consider the present state of Bengal folklore. Iswarchandra Gupta was not an educated person from the point of view of university education and was unsophisticated who knew no language but his mother tonge and was singularly narrow and unenlightened in his views; yet for more than twenty years he was the most popular author among the Bengalis of his time. He owed his success both as a poet and as an editor. He is fast falling into oblivion. Keeping this in view let us proceed to notice folkloristics in Bengal. But before doing so, we must promise a few words on the general condition of folk literature of Bengal pointing out *Mangal* Poetry, *Kabi* songs, *Panchali* and *Punthis*.

3

In the study of *Mangal* poetry, *Panchali* and genre a number of scholars have been distinguished. *Punthis* of several *Mangal* poetries have been edited by literary scholars of Bengal most of which are published either by University of Calcutta or by Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. Sukumar Sen, Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, Jatindramohan Bhattacherjee, Jayantakumar Dasgupta, Sureshchandra Bhattacherjee, Asutosh Bhattacharyya and others have distinct contribution in *Manasa Mangal*. They have edited some important *Punthis* which are composed to praise the serpent goddess Manasa. P. K. Maity's "Historical study of the serpent goddess Manasa", 1966, is an important addition in this group. Acharya Jogeshchandra Roy Vidyanidhi, Jitendranath Banerjee, Dilipkumar Biswas, Kalyankumar Ganguly, Chintaharan Chakravarti, and others have either edited original work on *Surya Mangal* or have written books on art, legendary, and historical aspects of the sun god, Surya. Dineshchandra Sen, Charuchandra Bandyopadhyaya, Sudhibhusan Bhattacherjee, Srikumar Banerjee, Biswapati Chaudhury, Bijanbehari Bhattacherjee, Asutosh Das have edited *Punthis* on *Chandi Mangal,* which is devoted to the study of goddess Chandi, one of the forms of the goddess Durga. Panchanan Chakravarti, Satyaranjan Bhattacherjee, Tridibnath Roy, Modangopal Goswami, Sivaprasad Bhattacherjee and others have edited *Punthis* on *Kalika Mangal,* which

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is confined to the study of the goddess Kali ; Satyanarayan Bhattacherjee has also edited a *Punthi* on *Sitala Mangal* or the tiger cult, Subhendusekhar Roy and Subalchandra Bandyopadhyaya have edited jointly *Basuli Mangal* or the Basuli cult which is also a form of the goddess Kali. Priyaranjan Sen has also some contribution on Basuli cult. Mahamohapadhyaya H. P. Sastri, Dineschandra Sen, Jogendranath Basu, Basantakumar Chattopadhyaya, Nanigopal Bandyopadhyaya, Sukumar Sen, Jogendranath Basu, Panchanan Mandal, Bijitkumar Dutta, Piyushkanti Mahapatra, Sunanda Sen and others have edited *Punthis* on *Dharma Mangal* or Dharma Thakur, a folk god of Bengal on which different scholars hold different opinions about its form and character. All these scholars served the purpose of Bengal folklore in this way or that way. Although Asutosh Bhattacharyya is a recognised scholar and a specialist in both the branch of Bengali literature—*Mangal* poetry and folk literature of Bengal—who has written the book *Mangal Kavyer Itihas* (History of Mangal poetry) and has been awarded Ph.D. on *Banglar Loka-Sahitya* (folk literature of Bengal) from the University of Dacca, in 1958 and of his serving in the University of Calcutta, as a Reader of the Modern Indian Languages he could not guide or supervised yet any research scholar of his subjects for advanced studies. On the contrary, he guided a student in a different branch of Bengali literature who got D.Phil. under him while Sukumar Sen and Sashibhusan Dasgupta each have not less than dozen successful scholars holding D.Phil. or similar degrees either on Mangal poetry or on folklore under them. In the field of *Panchali* and *Kabigan* a number of scholars and enthusiasts have distinguished by editing and compilation works. Here again Haraprasad Shastri, Dineschandra Sen are to be mentioned first. Munshi Abdul Karim, Sukumar Sen, Muhammad Sahidullah, Asraf Siddiqui, Chintaharan Chakravarti, Mohammad Abu Talib, Ahmed Shariff, are some names in this group. Let us also remember some more original texts and compiled works which are untapped so far. N. G. Bandyopadhyay's "Dharmapujar Bidhan" (ed.) is published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, 1325 B. S., is a work on the procedure of Dharma worship. Chaitnayadas Mandal's "Manasa Mangal", 4th print, 1321 B. S. is an original text appeared from Purulia. An important study of Manasa Mangal is made by B. R. Roy in his edited book—"Kshemendra Das". Swami Sankarananda's "Manasa Charit" is a controversial study that appeared from Calcutta in 1957. Of late, J. E. C. Dimock along with A. K. Ramanujam has contibuted an article entitled "The goddess of the snake and medieval Bengali literature" in 1962 which appeared in "The History of Religion", Vol. 1. No. 2. Ahmed Ali's "Ophate Rasul" (Wafat-i-Rasul), of Sayyid Sultan published from Noakhali and B. K.

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Bhattacherjee's "Padma Purana" of Bijaya Gupta published from Barisal (both the districts are now in East Pakistan). The same was edited by P. Das Gupta from Barisal. *Padma Purana* of Narayan Deb ed. by T. C. Das Gupta published by the University of Calcutta and R. & D. Chakravarty's edited *Padma Purama* of Bamandas Roy appeared in 1318 B. S.

In the group of Vaishnava religion also some important works can be mentioned. "Srisri Chaitanyabhagabat" of Brindaban Das, edited by Sidhanta Saraswati and "Srisri Chaitanyacharitamrita" of Krishnadas Kabiraj, edited by Radhagovinda Nath are widely known books.

Praphullachandra Pal's edited book "Prachin Kaviwalar gan" is a collection of ancient Kavi songs from different sources, and was published in 1957 by the University of Calcutta. Niranjan Chakravarti's "Unis Sataker Kavigan O Kaviwala" (The Kavi songs of the nineteenth century and the Kavi poets) and Bhabatosh Dutta's "Iswar Gupta O Kavi Samaj" (Iswar Gupta and Kavi song composers) are important collections in the group of Kavi (or Kabi) songs.

We recall Iswarchandra Gupta (1812-59) again for his attempt to collect bio-bibliographical data of the Kabiwalas. He, inspite of all his legacy, dominated Bengali literature from the middle thirties to the fifties of the last century and bridged the gulf between old poetry and the new.

4

In this connection we should also remember Krishna legends, which are the most popular topics for the folk poets. *Srikrishnavijaya* (Triumph of Lord Krishna) by Maladhar Vasu (Gunaraja Khan) is the oldest poem which took seven years to complete. A narrative on Krishna was written by Yasaraja Khan whose real name was Damador Sen (see Sukumar Sen). The most remarkable poem on Krishna legend is Badu Chandidas' work. He was a subordinate priest or a temple-attendent of the goddess Basuli (another form of goddess Kali). Some scholars of Bengal have some contributions on this deity which have already been mentioned. Both Chatna of Bankura[35] and Nanur of Birbhum district[36] of West Bengal claim him and on this point there are two schools of thought each of whom have been able to substantiate their claims with facts. Hence it is still a riddle, although, Birbhum's claim to Chandidas has got wide acceptance by scholars of contemporary Bengal. Chaitanya was partial to the songs on Krishna topics and he liked the songs of Jayadeva, Vidyapati and Chandidas as all his biographers testify.[37]

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There was a vital outburst of devotional discipline which is popularly known as Bhakti Movement. Vaishnava lyric poetry is written in Bengali, in Brajabuli, and also the folk poets and bards composed bulk of the materials from their memory in their own colloquial language. All these songs and stories mostly deal with unwedded love of Radha and Krishna and are equally popular both to the unsophisticated and sophisticated people of Bengal. Musalman writers and bards were also influenced by the Bhakti Movement of the Hindus. Saiyad Sultan of Chittagong (now in East Pakistan) wrote 'Rasul Viyay' in 1654, where he included Hindu gods and *avatars* among prophets. The Musalman poets and bards of Sylhet preferred writing or composing romantic narratives as well as Vaishnava lyrics and mystic songs.[38] The folksongs of the Bhakti group are being collected now by hundreds of collectors in both parts of Bengal—East and West—which also illustrate socio-economic conditions of the people in general to some extent.

Another point may be mentioned by quoting Sukumar Sen for folk play or *yatra* of Bengal. "It is no wonder that Monomohan Ghosh (1831-1912), a literary disciple of Iswarchandra Gupta, and a writer of Kavi songs, should introduce stage plays on popular mythological stories with an undercurrent of devotion (Bhakti). It was by him and thus that the course of Bengali drama was diverted towards the old *yatra,* and a new *yatra* was born" to meet the changing situation and taste of the people.

5

At any rate modern writers of Bengal, poets, dramatists, novelists and others use folklore in this way or that way in their writings. In the novels of Saratchandra Chatterjee[39] one can find real folk life in its proper setting. The eminent Hindu Collegian Bhudeb Mukherjee (1825-94) in his *Aitihasik Upanayas* (Historical tales, 1862), *Anguriyavinimaya* (Exchange of Rings, 1863) tells us the story of historical character treating folk life. Bhudeb Mukherjee was greately influenced by I. H. Camter's "Romances of History" in his creations —such is the contention of Sukumar Sen. Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya[40] has not only pictured folk life in his novels but also has written essays on Hindu festival,[41] popular literature, and *Banglar Krishak* (Peasantry of Bengal). Rabindranath Tagore[42] collected folk songs, had written *Lok-Sahitya* (folk literature) which appeared in *Sadhana,* in 1301 B. S. and in *Sahitya Parishat Patrika,* v. I, n. 1, before it appeared in book form. He had also discussed with imaginative sym-

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pathy and emotional extraction the spirit of folklore in his *"Bauler Gan"* (Baul song, 1923), *Swadeshi Samaj* (Indigenous Society, 1940, as the presidential address at Patna where he drew up a programme of rural reconstruction for our country and which programme he tried to give a shape through the rural university, Sriniketan), *"Pallir Unnati"* (Rural development, 1915), *"Rayater Katha"*, (The story of the Rayats, 1928), *"Palli Prakriti"* (Village Character, 1928), *"Grambasider Prati"* (Address to the villagers, 1930), *"Deser Kaj"* (Service to the country, 1932) and in many others. He also used folklore in composing songs and in his hand it received a sheer and subtlety an exquisite refinement. He is the most Indian of the Indians as well as most universal and a product of folklore, ancient and contemporary cultures of India. Pyarycharan Mitra's[43] (Tekchand Thakur) *"Allaler Gharar Dulal"* (Pampered son of a wealthy family) also contains materials for folkloristics since it is an original treatment of Bengali life and manners. Sukumar Sen has correctly said, that "It was Mitra who, as one of his earliest critics Rajendralal Mitra pointed out, revived the general reader from the tedium of the adventurous folktales in the pedestrian verse and pedantic prose". Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan*[44] also contain socio-economic aspects of folk life in Bengal. Sanjibchandra Chattopadhyay, the elder brother of Bankimchandra, has a distinct contribution in this. His *"Palamau"*, "Bengal Rayat" are important. Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhyaya's *Pather Panchali.*[45] (The saga of the road, 1929) and subsequent part of this book with a different title and many others are wonderful creations which depict folk life. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay's[46] *Naginikanyar Kahini"* (The story of the serpent girl, 1952), *"Hansulibanker Upakatha"*, (The legend of Hansuli Bend, 1947), and many others faithfully illustrate the norms, behaviours, customs, superstitions etc. of the village folks of Birbhum district from which part he hails. Manik Bandyopadhyaya's[47] *Padmanadir Majhi* (The boatman of the river Padma), Samaresh Basu's *Ganga,* (The Ganges), Advaita Malla Burman's *"Titas Ekti Nadir Nam"* (Titas is the name of a river) place before us various aspects of the life of the fisher folks of Bengal. In this context we are concerned with some important works and their authors in the field of folklore and related subjects.

6

In Archaeology the first brief essay on the chronology of pre-historic remains was published in R. B. Foote's "Catalogue of the Pre-historic Antiquities", 1901, by the Government of Madras which was followed by "Foote collection of Indian pre-historic and proto-historic tools and

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antiquities : notes on their ages and distribution" in 1916. This was followed by many important and useful essays like Hem Chandra Das Gupta's "Indian pre-history", 1923. This paper appeared in the *Journal of the Department of Letters,* University of Calcutta. Das Gupta's another important work is "Bibliography of pre-historic Indian Antiquities" which was published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1931. P. Mitra, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, wrote "Prehistoric India", 1923, 2nd. 1927 which is an early attempt to establish a relative sequence of stone tools by means of river-terraces and to reconstruct a picture of the stone age. N. K. Bose's "Climatic changes during the stone age in Mayurbhanj" and "Geological and Cultural evidences of stone age in Mayurbhanj" (both with G. S. Ray) appeared in the *Geographical Review* and *Man in India* in 1951 and 1958 respectively are original contributions. N. K. Bose's "The Stone Age in India" (with D. Sen) appeared in the "Cultural Heritage of India", published by R. K. Mission Inst. of Culture, Calcutta, 1958, is also an important document.

Besides, "Select Inscriptions" by D. C. Sircar in *'Epigraphica Indica,'* "Inscriptions of Bengal" by N. G. Majumdar, and Aksaykumar Maitreya's *"Gaudalekhmala"* (In Bengali, Inscriptions of Gauda) are noteworthy. Nayaratna Ratnagiri's *"Bangla Bhasa o Bangla Sahitya Bishayak Prastab"* or a discourse on the Bengali language and literature, ed. by Girindranath Banerjee, Calcutta, P. C. Paul's "Early history of Bengal" 2 vol., J. N. Banerji's "The Development of Hindu Iconography" 2nd rev. edn., Calcutta, 1956 should also be mentioned.

We should also remember some historical books which have direct or indirect connections with the folklife of Bengal. N. G. Banerjee's "Economic life and progress in ancient India", 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1945, Atindranath Basu's "Social and rural economy of northern India", 2 vols., Calcutta, 1945, H. C. Chakladar's "Social life in ancient India : Studies in Vatsayana's Kamasutra", Calcutta, 1929, R. C. Majumdar's "History of Bengal", Vol. 1, Dacca, 1943, "Corporate life and ancient India", 1922 and the latest book in Bengali "Bangaladesher Itihash" (with others), J. N. Sarkar's "History of Bengal", Muslim period, Dacca, 1948, Abdul Karim's "Social history of the Muslim", Dacca, 1959, N. N. Vasu's *"Bardhamaner Itikatha : Prachin O adhunik"* (In Bengali, the ancient and present day history of the Burdwan district), 1321 B. S., *"Banger Jatiya Itihash"*, (In Bengali, national history of Bengal), R. D. Banerji's *"Banglar Itihash"*, 2 vols. and "Origin and development of Bengali script" etc. are noteworthy. *"Kuchbiharer Itihas"*, compiled by F. C. A. Ahmed, *"Birbhum Bibaran"*, 2 vols. compiled by M. N. Chakravarti, Upendrachandra Guha's *"Kachharer Itibritta"*, Benoy

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Ghosh's *"Banglar navajagriti"*, Calcutta, 1355 B. S., A. C. Gupta's *"Hooghly ba Dakshin Radha"*, 1321 B. S., Nikhilranjan Ray's *"Murshidabader Itihas"*, Calcutta, 1309 B. S., Sudhir Kumar Mitra's *Hooghly Zelar Itihash* (In Bengali), other district history books of this century, K. K. Datta's "History of Bengal Subha" are useful. S. C. Mukherjee's "A study of Vaishnavism in ancient and medieval Bengal" Calcutta, 1966, is a recent book and a D.Phil Thesis of the University of Calcutta is an important addition in this group.

7

Mention of some anthropological studies are necessary here. H. H. Risely's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal", 2 vols., Calcutta, 1891 was modified by A. C. Haddon in his "Races of man and their distribution", Cambridge, 1924 and "The Wanderings of the Peoples", 1927. J. H. Hutton's "A Negrito Substratum in the population of Assam" suggests that there was a Negrito substratum in the tribal population of Assam. His "The Angami Nagas, with some notes on neighbouring tribes", London, 1921, "The tribal contour of War tribe" in *Man*, 1929, "The Sema Naga", 1921, "The points raised by certain passages in folklore", in *Folklore*, London, 1931, "Folktales of Angami Nagas of Assam" in *Folklore*, London, 1914 & 1915 and also in 1923 and 1924, "Caste in India, its nature, function and origin", 3rd edn., 1961 are noteworthy. His report on the Census of India, 1931 is also important for reference. B. S. Guha, P. C. Mahalanabis, A. K. Mitra and B. N. Dutta also, should be remembered in this connection. Guha's "Racial Elements in Population", 1944, published by the Oxford University Press is an original contribution. His "Census of India", 1931 speaks of his vast knowledge, scholarship and ability to view the subject. He has also contributed on folklore and its related subjects, like "A Ho folk story" that appeared in *Man in India*, 1928 and "Progress of Anthropology in India during the past twentyfive years", Indian Science Congress Association, 1938. Mahalanabis's "Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta", 1931 is an important document which can be used as a model even after a period of 35 years. A. K. Mitra's "Dravidian and Mon-Khmer speakers of Australoid : a study in variation" (with B. K. Chatterjee) and "The Riang of Tripura", 1956; "Konkavati, or the girl who came to life", a Bengali folktale in *Man in India* speak of his treating the subject with desired sympathy. Dutta's "Races of India" was published by the University of Calcutta in 1935, "Ethnographical notes on some castes of Bengal" was published in 1935. He has other important papers on folklore and anthropology which we will

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treat later. It should be remembered that cultural anthropologists have shown greater interest in treating caste. Among the works on caste we have mentioned a few above. Some earlier works can also be mentioned as points of information. Satischandra Mukherjee of the Dawn Society * was an important person who had written useful essays on caste system of Bengal. Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita and others too had contributed on caste round about 1902 to 1913. Acharya Brojendranath Seal, the great philosopher of India, delivered the inaugural address at the First Universal Race Congress in London, 1911 which appeared in the proceedings of the conference as "The meaning of Race, Tribe and Nation". N. K. Bose has distinct contribution in this. His "Hindu Samajer Garan" (In Bengali, the structure of Hindu society, 1949) is an important book. "Data on caste" (Memoir No. 7 of the Anthropological Survey of India, 1960) and "Some aspects of castes in West Bengal" in JAF, 71, 281, July-Sept., 1958 and also in MII, 2, 38 are a valuable model for researchers. Here again we need mention B. N. Dutta[48] for his "Studies in Indian Social polity", "Traces of totemism in some tribes and castes of north east India", *Man in India,* 1933, "Vedic funeral custom and Indus Valley Culture", *Man in India,* 1936-37. N. K. Dutta's "Origin and growth of caste", 2nd edn. Calcutta, 1966, D. N. Majumdar's "Caste and Communication in an Indian Village", Bombay, 1958 and others are noteworthy.

8

Important studies of descriptive analytical nature along with the works of hobbyists were significant in folklore study in Bengal. This also encouraged scientists and literateurs. Acharya P. C. Ray's encouragement for any nationalistic work is welknown. Here we should also mention Kangal Harinath who did marvellous work on the peasantry of Bengal. Acharya Ramendrasundar Trivedi's article on folk god of Murshidabad district, appeared in *Sahitya Parishat Patrika,* in 1314 B. S.; introduced the book *"Khukumanir Chhada"* (by Jogindranath Sarkar), and *"Bangalakshmir vrata katha"*[49] (The Vrata rituals of the womenfolks of Bengal) are very much useful for the study of Bengal folklore. Madhusudan Mukherjee's domestic tale "Sushilar Upakhyan", in three parts (1859-65), Acharya Girindrasekhar

* 'Dawn Magazine' (1893-1902) was established by Satishchandra Mukherjee in 1893. In 1902 he founded "Dawn Society", a socio-cultural training institute in the name of Dawn Magazine. On the formation of 'Dawn Society' 'Dawn Magazine' became its official organ as "The Dawn and the Dawn Societies Magazines" (1902-1913). Side by side Anti Circular Society was founded on 22. 10. 1905 to protest for the withdrawal of the circular of the Govt. on 10. 10. 1905 against National Education Movement.

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Bose's essays on folk psychology, Haridas Palit's "Addyer Gambhira", 1912[50] and B. K. Sarkar's[51] "Folk Element in Hindu Culture", 1917 are necessary reading for the folklore study in Bengal.

Most of the earlier scholars have treated castes, tribes, religion and festival. Here a word on Hindu festival may not be out of point. Because many Hindu festivals which have assured the shape and adopted the symbols of the worship of particular gods and goddesses were in their origin nothing more than celebration of the advent of particular seasons of the year and had no religious background.[52] It was secular and communal in character. As an instance we can cite *Dol jatra* which is known as Holi outside Bengal. Originally, it was a festival in honour of Spring, Vanotsaba. From Vanotsaba it degenerated to Madanotsaba or the festival of love and then the religious element crept in. Again the four festivals in honour of goddess Lakshmi. The first in autumn, just before the winter harvest commences, the second in Pous (December-January), when the winter crop has been gathered in, the third in Chaitra (March-April) just before the first rains are expected and the last in Bhadra (August-September) just as early crop has been gathered in. These lead to the inference that the festivals in honour of Lakshmi, or Sri, is purely agricultural which had no religious character whatever. So it is said by Bankimchandra Chatterjee that most of the "Hindu festivals and usages connected with them, at all events all the older festivals, had in their origin no necessary connection with religion, and their present religious character is owing to the later Puranic superstition."[53]

9

Books on different branches of Bengal folklore, like "Bengal Peasant Life", 1874 written by Lal Behari Day (first appeared as Govinda Samanta or the history of Bengali Rayat in 2 vols) deal with the peasantry of Burdwan district. His "Folktales of Bengal", 1881 won him world reputation for his mastery in English and familiarity with the subject. It should be noted in this connection that folktale collection began in Bengal in 1838, if not earlier, and the collection of proverbology started as early as 1830. At the initial stage of collection, at least between 1800 to 1919, the information from where to collect and how to collect etc. came to us from the European travellers, missionaries and British scholars-administrators and from a few Indian scholars.[54] Most of the foreigners have collected folklore and its neighbouring subjects as instigated by the foreign government as a result of their interest in the native life, language, cul-

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ture and literature.

The East-India Company had come to India, as a trading concern, and in its early years it had no desire of establishing a territorial empire. But soon they realised that their trading interests could be safeguarded only by military and police power. The decision of establishing territorial empire was taken at the time when the Company came into conflict with the Nawab in Bengal. This conflict ended with the expansion of Company's control in 1765[55] which got its hold strong in 1792.[56] Here we will remember that "A series of treaties, concluded between the English Company and the successive Nawabs of Bengal gradually transferred powers and functions into the hands of the company until in the days of Cornwallis British sovereignty in Bengal came fully into being . . . the new system was to a considerable extent based on the *Murshid Quli* system (Murshid Quli Khan appointed as Diwan of Bengal in 1700 and ruled Bengal up to 1727 till his death. Bengal got full benefit of his remarkable administrative ability. He evolved the Amins, the Quanungos and the Zamindars and in his time there were sixteen big Zamindars in charge of 615 fiscal units, about 1600 more Parganas were in the hands of smaller Zamindars and Talukdars or intermediate rent receivers and introduced employing Bengali Hindus in the state service. Bengali surnames Dastidar, Sarkar, Bakshi, Quanungo, Chakladar, Tarafdar, Laskar, Haldar, Khan etc. was also introduced by him). Corruption had been very much in existence before Plassey, it reached its peak in the early years of British rule. Cornwallis succeeded in ensuring European integrity by the provision of much more adequate salary. But he did nothing to eradicate the tradition of illicit gains which prevailed among the Indians by placing 'the natives in some degree beyond temptation by making their official allowances adequate to the support of their station in society. An attempt was only made to restrain corruption so far as to prevent any injury to the interests of Government.' The vices of the strangers disappointed and a new ring of vested interests began to dominate the economy of Bengal".[57] From this time onward the whole set-up of administration was compelled to turn their attention to educational and survey works. They were foreigners and were totally unaware of the language, custom, religion, rituals, beliefs and many other details of the people whom they will rule or will exploit for their own interest. It was, therefore, a necessity to know the sons of the soil from different viewpoints. But in stead of taking up all these researches at governmental level, at the initial stage, cultural research and academic organizations were set up and talented scholars were discovered and imported from the Western land on whom Indological researches were

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entrusted. Side by side governmental efforts progressed. The government first planned to educate Indians in their own way. By doing so they explored the possibilities of folklore to study people and to know actually what they want. The policy was to recommend to the government the findings of these experts and social scientists as to how efficiently people's grievances can be met without affecting the interest of the British Raj.

10

Folklore study, the varying ways of life typical of one's environment and a new approach to understanding was felt necessary. "Like the air we breathe, its presence goes unnoticed, but life could exist without it is inconceivable. Part of reason for efflorescence of folklore course on the campuses of colleges and universities in recent years lies in the discovery by the world of scholarship of its fundamental values; another explanation is the failure of the earlier established disciplines like, history, philosophy, theology, literature and anthropology to take into account the area signified by the word 'folklore' ".[58] Along with the scholars, missionary workers, government officials and administrators also paid attention to its collection from all available sources. In this way a great many Orientalists took up folkloristics which got another push round about 1920 when a great many matured scholars of Bengal joined them. Dineshchandra Sen, Gurusaday Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Ramendrasundar Trivedi, Haraprasad Shastri, N. K. Bhattasali, R. P. Chanda, Abanindranath Tagore, Abdul Karim Sahitya Bisarad, B. K. Sarkar, S. C. Roy, S. C. Mitra, Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar, Sibratan Mitra, and many others took serious interest for the collection of folklore. To dwell on the folkloristics in Bengal it will, therefore, be convenient if we treat the same in the following line: (i) Western scholars and administrators; (ii) United Bengal; (iii) West Bengal, & (iv) Eastern Pakistan. But prior to that we should mention the name of some journals and magazines because of their role in promoting the subject.

NOTE

* Bengal is an ancient land. As far as we know Banga is first mentioned in *Aitreya* and *Aranyak* Brahmans and then in several places. In the *Dharma Sutra* of Bodhayana Banga is said to be a neighbour of Kalinga (Orissa). In *the Mahabharata* Bhim, the second Pandava, on his way to conquer the word killed the king of Mudgiri (Monghr, Bihar) and went on further. He arrived at Banga defeating the king of Pundra (Bogra district, East Pakistan), then Tamralipta (Midnapur district, West Bengal), Radha (Malda, Dinajpure districts of West Bengal

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and East Pakistan) Karbata and others. It is said in *the Ramayana* that the inhabitants of Banga had matrimonial relations with the royal families of Ayodhya (in Uttar Pradesh). According *the Mahabharata* the inhabitants of Banga were worriors and fighters. From the days of *the Mahabharata* to the time of Buddha Banga culture mainly dominated by the rites, rituals, communal ceremonies, beliefs etc. of the people where Aryan instructions or doctrines had meagre influence. It is supposed that owing to this and as these people were unable to speak in Sanskrit (which is known as *Deba-bhasha*—the language of the gods and goddesses—neither the Indo-Aryans were able to understand or follow the languages of the people of Banga whom they have conquered), the Bengalis were called *Bayanshi*—crows, pigeons and other birds (because they speak like birds) in the Vedic literature. It took a long time and a great effort to teach Sanskrit to the Bengalis and that too were mainly confined to the people of the upper castes. Language difficulties, people' love and respect for traditional and oral culture, rites, rituals, customs, norms, ceremonies, behaviours etc. obstructed Indo-Aryans to induce Arya ideas and thoughts to the Bengalis. So one finds marked differences between the Hindus of Bengal with that of their counterparts of Kanuj, Karnatak, Kashmir, Punjab and other Arya dominated places. The Hindus of Bengal assimilated the Indo-Aryan ideas and culture in their own way in the manner modern Bengal accepted and absorved Western thought, culture, education, and ideas during the British time. This is also true for the Musalmans of Bengal. There are sharp differences between the Musalmans of Bengal with their counterparts in Mucca and Madina. They are Bengalis first, Musalman next. This idea can be substantiated from the present-day disturbances and conflicts between the two parts of Pakistan, an Islami state. It is because of the fact that the Bengali Musalmans are not willing to forget *Bangalipana* or Bengalism. Nobody can deny that there are Hindus in Bengal and *vice versa* whom can be recognised either as Hindus or as Musalmans not only by physical set-up but also by observing the rites, rituals, norms, behaviour, dress, cultural activities etc. For example, it is hardly possible to distinguish Nazrul Islam whether he is a Hindu or a Musalman if we forget his name. Such example can be multiplied in thousands. Then there is a community, the Patuas, who can be groupped either with the Musalmans or with the Hindus which makes no difference since the community as a whole observe the rites and rituals of both the religions. The study of this half-Hindu, half-Musalman, half-Christian people may provide some basic data in writing the socio-cultural history of Bengal. According to Benoykumar Sarkar the Bengalis are a mixed nation or a converts from the Indo-Aryans. In support to this statement of his he said that as the Christians of England and France are converts, and as the Musalmans of Egypt and Iran are coverts, so the Bengalis are. To put it in Benoy Sarkar's own language

"বাঙালী পরধর্মে দীক্ষাপ্রাপ্ত কনভার্ট, ইংরাজ খৃষ্টানেরা, ফরাসী খৃষ্টানেরা, মিশরের মুসলমানেরা, ইরাণের মুসলমানেরা যেমন পরধর্মে দীক্ষিত লোক, বাঙালী হিন্দুরাও তেমনি" (বিনয় সরকারের বৈঠকে)।

During the Musalman rule Bengal was known as Subha Bangala. Abul Fazal described Banga + al = Bangala. In the travelogues of the Europeans of the middle age this part of India was known as Bangala and the watery portion of its south as Gulfo de Bangala or Gulf of Bengal. Dr. Niharranjan Ray said in his *Bangalir Itihash, Adi Parba* that the ancient Banga, Poundra, Radha, Gaudha, etc. were the tribal and communal zones where different tribal groups and communities lived together. Modern Bengal got them as its constituents. Of course, there were efforts to unite all these zones into an united unit under the name of Gauda by Sasanka, and the Pala-Sena kings but unfortunately their endeavours were not successful. It was due to the Pathans that an outline of modern Bengal was

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conccived which got a shape during the reign of Akbar, the Mughal Badsaha, as Subha Bangala. Again the British gave it a definite boundary. Let us quote Dr. Niharranjan Ray

প্রাচীন বাংলার বঙ্গ-বঙ্গাল বলিতে যে দেশখণ্ড বুঝাইতে তাহা বর্তমান বঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশের সমার্থক নয়।...প্রাচীনতর সাক্ষ্যে জনপদগুলির নাম যে ভাবে আমরা পাই তাহা ঠিক জনপদ বা স্থানের নাম নহে—কোমের নাম। বঙ্গাঃ, রাঢ়াঃ, পুণ্ড্রাঃ, গৌড়াঃ (কোম আদিম অধিবাসী অর্থে) ঐ সব কোম যে সব অঞ্চলে বাস করিত সেই সেই অঞ্চলের নাম বঙ্গ, গৌড়, পুণ্ড্র ইত্যাদি...গৌড় নামে লইয়া বাংলার সমস্ত জনপদকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ করিবার যে চেষ্টা শশাঙ্ক, পাল ও সেন রাজারা করিয়াছিলেন, সে চেষ্টা সার্থক হয় নাই। গৌড় নামের ললাটে সেই সৌভাগ্য অঙ্কিত বোধহয় ছিল না। সেই সৌভাগ্য লাভ ঘটিল বঙ্গ নামের। যে বঙ্গ ছিল আর্য সভ্যতা ও সংস্কৃতির দিক হইতে ঘৃণিত ও অবজ্ঞাত এবং যে বঙ্গ নাম ছিল পাল ও সেন রাজাদের কম গৌরবের ও আদরের। সমগ্র বাংলা দেশের নাম লইয়া ঐক্যবদ্ধ হওয়া হিন্দু আমলে ঘটে নাই। তাহা ঘটিল তথাকথিত পাঠান আমলে এবং পূর্ণ পরিণতি লাভ করিল আকবরের আমলে যখন সমস্ত বাংলা দেশ সুবা বাংলা নামে পরিচিত হইল। ইংরেজ আমলে বাংলা দেশ পূর্ণতর পরিচয় ও প্রতিষ্ঠা লাভ করিয়াছে। (বাঙালীর ইতিহাস : আদি পর্ব)।

Hence it can be said that the idea of Bengal as the land for the Bengalis originated from the Mughals. As a condition of India's Independence the Indian National Congress and Muslim League divided Bengal into two international states again on the basis of Radclife Award in 1947 but still there are disputes and discripencies with certain areas of West Bengal and Assam with that of the Eastern Pakistan. (Please also see note No. 88 of this book for further information about Bengal. For more extensive information kindly see (1) W. Ward's "A view of history, literature and mythology of the Hindus", 4 vols, Serampore, 1817-1820, (2) P. C. Paul's "Early history of Bengal", 2 vols. and (3) R. C. Majumdar's *"Bangladesher Itihash"* (In Bengali) 1st part, ancient period and 2nd part, middle age.)

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CHAPTER : FIVE : JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

1

Already we have mentioned a few Indian and foreign scholars, travellers, and others who were interested in Bengal folklore and related subjects. As because literary scholars and enthusiasts have taken a lead in folklorology in Bengal there is a lot of misconception as to the scope of folklore.[59] It is particularly after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the end of the 18th century (1784) that systematic collection and preservation work started but perhaps no remarkable folktale collection was made earlier than 1838. Twenty years after the establishment of the Asiatic Sociey of Bengal, Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1804 and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1829 by the efforts of the Western scholars and administrators. The journals of these societies published huge materials of Bengal folklore and its neighbouring subjects. This inspired and encouraged Indian scholars. We will mention here a few of them to give an idea of the works done so far in this field in Bengal. Also we have ventured to name a few foreign journals where bulk of the materials on Bengal folklore appeared. These journals and the selected items in the bibliography appended at the end of this study may offer an idea of the vastness of the subjects and lead the students to the particular phase of folklore scholarship in which he is most interested. The mention of the Indian Folklore Society and the journal 'Folklore' is necessary here.

2

No doubt, that one of the best ways of discovering what a discipline consists of is to look at the professional journals in that discipline. Since there are several hundred folklore journals published from different parts of the world one has to be selective. For a listing of this journals as well as literary and anthropological journals

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in which important folklore articles of Bengal in its wider perspective frequently appear should be consulted. This will clear the idea. For the study of Bengal folklore mention of the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", Calcutta, 1832 followed by the "Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society," Bombay, 1844 (new series 1925), have been made earlier. "Reports and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland", London, 1886 also contain materials of Bengal folklore. Besides, "Asiatic Quarterly Review", London, 1886, "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", 1865, "The Academy", London ,1869, "The Calcutta Review," Calcutta (first published in 1844, new series, 1913, third series, 1956) "Folklore" London, (first published as "Folklore Reford", 1878, then "Folklore Journal", 1883), 1890, "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay", Bombay, 1886 "Journal of the American Oriental Society", Boston, 1849, "Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society", Bankipur, Patna, 1915, "Bengal Magazine", Calcutta, 1824, "Bengal Gazetteer", 1780 (which was renewed as "India Gazetteer"), "Calcutta Gazetteer", 1785 "Bengal Harkara", 1798, "Journal of Indian Anthropological Institute", Calcutta, 1938, "Journal of Indian Art", London, 1886, "Journal of the Society of Oriental Art," Calcutta, 1933, "Man", London, 1901, "Memoirs of the Anthropological Society", London, 1863, "March of India," New Delhi, 1948, "Marg," Bombay, 1949, "Midwest Folklore" (converted to Journal of Folklore Institute, 1960), "Modern Review", Calcutta, 1907, "Punjab Notes and Queries", Allahabad, 1883, "North Indian Notes and Queries", Allahabad, 1890, "Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society", Bangalore, 1909, "Rural India," Bombay, 1938, "Southern Folklore Quarterly", Florida, 1937, "Triveni", Masulipatam, Andhra, 1928, "Visva-Bharati Quarterly", Santiniketan, 1923, "Folklore", Calcutta, 1960 (Incorporating 'Indian Folklore' 1956-1959), "Man-in-India", Ranchi, 1921, "Vanyajati", Delhi, 1952, "Annals of Oriental Research", Madras, 1919, "Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research", Poona, "Anthropos", Wien, Austria, 1906, "Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies", London, "Eastern Anthropologist", Lucknow, 1947, "Ethnos", Stocklolm, 1936, "Journal of American Folklore" 1888, Dawn Magazine, Calcutta, 1893 (converted to "The Dawn and the Dawn Societies Magazine", 1902-1913) "Journal of Letters", University of Calcutta, 1920, and many others.

It would be a point to note that many journals are not in the above list because some of them are devoted to the folklore of special groups, such as, the "Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society", London, 1888, "Modern Philology", Chicago, 1890, "Orientalists", Ceylon, 1884, "Journal of Indian History", Trivandrum, "Journal of the Indian Music", Madras,

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1927, "Journal of Industry and Trade", New Delhi, 1951. We should also note that the "Epigraphica Indica" was published by the Government of India, Dept. of Epigraphy, "Indian Antiquity", started in Bombay in 1872 under the editorship of J. Burgess, "Bengal Past and Present", Calcutta and others roused the interest of scholars to study folklore of Bengal. It should also be noted that the "Orientalist" of Thomas Bacon, published in 1842 brought together a series of folktales, legends and historical romances. Some objective studies are also available in "Asiatic Researches", the first volume of which appeared in 1788. "Indian Culture", Calcutta, 1934, "Ancient India", New Delhi, 1946 which is the organ of the Archaeological Survey of India also contain valuable materials of Bengal folklore or its border.

3

The above represent only a small part of the journals and magaines. Here it is necessary to add some Bengali journals which are given below : *Sahitya Parishat Patrika,* quarterly journal published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta ; *Sahitya Patrika,* quarterly journal published by the Department of Bengali, Dacca University, Dacca ; *Visva-Bharati Patrika,* quarterly journal published by the publication division of Visva-Bharati University, Calcutta ; *Sahityika,* published by the Bengali Department of the Rajsahi University, Rajsahi, *Rabindra-Bharati Patrika,* quarterly journal published by the Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta ; *Akademi Patrika,* a useful quarterly was published by Bangla Akademi, Dacca has stopped its publication in 1966 and Bengali monthlies like *Masik Basumati,* Calcutta, *Prabashi,* Calcutta, *Bharatbarsha,* Calcutta, *Parichaya,* Calcutta, *Samakalin,* Calcutta, *Chatuskone,* Calcutta, *Kalyani,* Calcutta are publishing many unexplored materials of Bengal folklore for many years. Among the weeklies the name of *Desh* should be made first. It is a publication of Anandabazar group of publications. *Amrita* and *Saptahik Basumati,* the two weeklies published by Amrita Bazar group of publications and Basumati group of publications respectively also do not neglect to publish articles of Bengal folklore. Besides, all existing newspapers of Bengal publish articles &c. in the pages of their Sunday Magazines or elsewhere. Here it is necessary to mention that Puja Special Numbers of different newspapers and magazines as well as sporadic publications also contain folklore articles.

Professional folklorists are anxious to keep themselves well informed about the folklore movement and scholarship of the world. For this obviously they are dependent on different bibliographies. We

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have, therefore, included a 'select bibliography' which may save many hours of labour to the interested readers to locate the particular phase of Bengal folklore in which a folklorist is interested. For an international understanding, "From 1917 on, there has been international folklore bibliography, and this is one of the most valuable of the folklorist's aids. This *Internationale Volkskundiche Bibliographie* is a cooperative enterprise that depends upon the contributions of folklorists all over the world . . . For current scholarship, one should consult the various annual bibliographies . . . for example, the spring issue of the *Southern Folklore Quarterly* each year . . . "Annual Bibliography of Folklore" published in the *Journal of American Folklore Supplement* since 1955 but more recently (1964) issues as a seperate number of *Abstracts of Folklore Studies*, . . . *Publications of the Modern Language Associations* (PMLA) . . . few folklore entries are also available in *"Readers Guide to Periodical Literature* and the *international Index to periodicals."* (The Study of Folklore). Bibliographies in *Cultural News from India* published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, bibliographies published in the journal *Folklore* (Calcutta), the *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* M. S. University, Baroda, and the bibliographies of the *Bibliography Unit of the National Library,* Calcutta, provide information folklore study as important reference tools. Besides, "there is Charles Haywood's *"A bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong,* 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1961, . . . Ralph Steele Boggs' *Bibliography of Latin American Folklore,* 1940, . . . Archer Taylor's *A bibliography of Riddles,* 1939, . . . Aldo Santi's *Bibliografia delle Enigmistica,* 1952, . . . Wilfred Bonsor and T. A. Stephens' *Proverbe Literature : A Bibliography of Works Relating to Proverbs,* London, 1930, Otto E. Moll's *"Sprichworter-bibliographie,* Frankfurt, 1958, Katharine Smith Diehl's *Religion, mythologies, folklores, an annotated bibliography,* 2nd edn., 1962", C. Von Furer-Haimendorf's *An Anthropological bibliography of South Asia,* 1958 with Elizabeth; Edwin C. Kirkland's *A bibliography of South Asian Folklore,* 1966; Sankar Sen Gupta with Shyam Parmar's *A bibliography of Indian folklore and related subjects,* 1967 and many others are important reference tools. In closing this chapter let us also mention some foreign journals where important articies on the modern trend, theory and research appear and which are helpful in keeping track of folklore scholarship around the world. "Folklore", London, 1890; "Asian Folklore Studies", Tokyo, 1942; "Journal of American Folklore", New York, 1888; "El. Placo", New Mexico; "Ethnos", Stockholm, 1836; "Ethnomusicology", Connecticut; "Journal of Internal Folk Music Council", London, 1949; "Man", London, 1901; "South West Journal of Anthropology", New Mexico;

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"Folklore Studies", China, 1942 ; "Revista Brasileira de folclor", Brazil, 1961 ; "Revista de ethnografie si folclor", Bucharest ; "Bulletin of folklorique d'lle France, Paris, 1938 ; "Zeitschrift fur Volkskunde", Germany, 1929 ; "Folkliv", Sweden ; and many others are important. Besides, Tristram P. Coffin's *An analytical index to the journal of American Folklore,* 1958 ; W. Bonsors' *A bibliography of folklore as contained in the first eighty years of publications of the folklore Society,* London, 1961 and Shibdas Chaudhury's *Index to the publication of the Asiatic Society* 1788-1953, Vol. I. Part I and Part II 1788-1953 are also to be remembered. All these offer useful information to the interested students. Of course, all these and much more reference tools are in the knowledge of the specialists and scholars to whom this study may seem to be an amateurish one. It should be remembered that it is prepared for the commoners and not designed for the specialists.

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CHAPTER : SIX : WESTERN SCHOLARS AND ADMINISTRATORS

1

In this account of study of folklore of Bengal we should mention the names of some Western scholars and their works. J. A. Dubois' "Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies" was published as early as 1897. The French manuscript of this book as "Moeurs, institutions et ceremonies des peuples de l'Inde, 2 vols., Paris, 1825 has been translated into English with biographical note by H. K. Beauchamp and preface of this book was written by Max Muller and was published from London in 1897. The book consists of customs, rites, religion, fables and tales of India.

We will failing in our duty if we do not pay our tributes to the Christian missionaries and other Western scholars for their invaluable service. Whatever might have the reason of their undertaking these works, they produced some thorough studies and have helped us to open our eyes. Some of their studies were published after they left India.

J. Fergusson's "Tree and serpent worship; or illustrations of mythology and art in India in the 1st and 4th centuries after Christ, from the sculptures of Buddhist topes at Sanchi and Amaravati", London, 1868, G. H. Damant's "Bengali folklore from Dinagepore" appeared serially in *Indian Antiquary,* Bombay, from its first volume in 1872 to volume nine, 1880. Some very fine tales are preserved by Damant. George Grierson's "The Linguistic Survey of India", Calcutta, 1903-07, "Bihar Peasant Life", Calcutta, 1885, "Songs of Gopichandra" and "The Song of Manickchandra" appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between 1885 to 1888. R. Greeven's "bath song", "love song", "drinking song", etc. appeared in the *North Indian Notes and Queries,* Allahabad between 1894-95 are important. Denzil Ibbetson's writings on superstitions, custom, religion, etc. appeared in *Indian Antiquary, Punjab Notes and Queries* from 1881

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onward. His contribution on caste appeared in the Census of British India, 1881. W. Crooke was a prolific writer and an able collector. The bulk of his collections appeared in *Punjab Notes and Queries* and *North Indian Notes and Queries,* from 1883 onward the two journals edited by R. C. Temple and W. Crooke respectively. Crooke also contributed in *Folklore,* London, *Indian Antiquary,* Bombay, *Journal of Anthropological Institute,* New York, *Man,* London, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* etc. He had covered many items of folklore, such as, superstition, religion, belief, customs, demonology, charms, medicines, legends, songs, festival, omens, rhyms, magic, tale, game, speech, proverb, gestures, &c. His "Introduction to Popular religion and Folklore of Northern India" was published first from Allahabad in 1894, then from London in 1926 under the title "Religion and Folklore of Northern India". Crooke's works were generally based on folklore outside Bengal but since he inspired a number of workers and researchers of folklore through his writings and edited works it is necessary to mention him while we discuss about the folkloristics of Bengal.

2

J. D. Anderson's "Some Chittagong proverbs, compiled as an example of dialect of Chittagong" appeared from Calcutta in 1897. J. D. Baglar's "Report of Archaeological Survey of India" Vol. VIII, 1878 contain legends of Bengal. Bloomfield Maurice contributed many articles in *North Indian Notes and Queries* and also in the *Journal of American Oriental Society,* Boston during 1895 and onward on 'boat festival', 'The Dodada or craving of pregnant women', etc., Max Muller's "What India can teach us ?", 1882 is an important book on which different scholars hold different opinion. M. A. Sherring's "Hindu tribes and castes as represented in Beneras", Calcutta, 1872, R. V. Russel and Hiralal's "The tribes and castes of Central Provinces of India", 4 vols. London, 1916 are important books. Here the authors deal with different tribes like Bhats, Bhujias, and others and also their charms, dance, songs, beliefs, etc. H. Hislop's "Paper relating to the aboriginal tribes of Central Provinces", Nagpur, 1886, H. H. Riseley's "Tribes and castes of Bengal", 2 vols. Calcutta, 1891, "The People of India" (ed. by W. Crooke, 1908, 2nd. ed. 1915), H. Beverley's "Report on the Census of Bengal on different scheduled caste and tribal communities", 1872, E. A. Gait's Report of Census of India 1891 and 1901, E. T. Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", 1872, G. Duff-Sutherland's articles on Abor, Gallongs and others in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Socicty of Bengal,* between 1913 to 1917, H. W. Barow's article on Aghoris and others in the *Journal of the*

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Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1893 ; W. H. P. Dirver's work on Asur etc. entitled as "Notes on some Kolarian tribes" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1881, deserve mention. J. Shakespear's "Report on the Census of Oudh", 1869, "Dancing among the hill tribes of Southern Assam" etc. and other papers appeared in *Folklore,* London, *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute,* are important. A. Turner's "Report of Census of India", 1931, R. E. Enthoven's "Folklore Notes" which is compiled from the materials collected by late A. M. T. Jackson, 2 vols., "Tribes and Castes of Bombay", 1920, W. G. Archer's "Kharia Alang", 1942, "The Blue Grove", London, 1940, "Bazar Painting of Calcutta, the style of Kalighat", London, 1953 ; "An Uraon riddle book", 1940, "Santal Marriage Songs" (folk culture series, Lucknow, 1946), are important. Mildred Archer's "The folktale of Santal Society", and "Malto folktales" (with D. P. Sing) in *Man in India,* 1944 are noteworthy collections. W. G. Thompson's "Census Report", 1921 (Bengal part) contains valuable materials on Bengal folklore. L. S. S. O'Malley's "Census of India Report", 1921, (Bengal Bihar Orissa and Sikkim part) also contain useful materials on the nomadic and tribal folks in respect of their norms, superstitions, behaviour, daily life, rites, rituals, songs, dances etc. His article in Bengal District Gazetteers, from 1901 to 1914 are very important for the study of Bengal folklore. A. E. Parker's "Census of India Report", 1931 (Bengal and Sikkim part) also contain information on Bengal folklore. J. C. Paterson's article in "Bengal District Gazetteer" (Burdwan) on different scheduled castes and communities contain valuable materials.

3

Charles F. Ferguson and W. D. Paterson's "107 Bengali Proverbs", in the *Journal of the American Oriental Institute,* 1942 are to be remembered in this connection for the scholarly way of putting things. Stith Thompson's (with J. Balys) "The Oral tales of India", Indiana University, 1958 and later book "Types of Indic oral tales, India, Pakistan and Ceylon", F. F. Communication, No. 180, Helsinki, 1960 is a 'must' for folklore study. Besides the 'Dictionary of Folklore : mythology and legend', 1949, 2 vols. is being used by all irrespective of teachers, students, hobbyists, scholars, and workers of Bengal as it is utilised in other parts of the world. H. A. Rose's "A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West frontier Provinces", 1911, 3 vols. contain custom, demonology, festival, legend, omens, song, superstition, witchcraft etc. and his papers in the *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, Indian Antiquary, Man, Folklore,*

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London from 1902 to 1926 are very important for the student of folklore. G. H. Rouse's edited book "Wenger's Bengali grammar", sixth edn. 1920, contain Bengali proverbs. W. H. D. Rouse's "Folklore items" from *North Indian Notes and Queries,* appeared in *Folklore,* London from 1893 to 1896 which deal with belief, custom, tale etc. with competence. A. L. Basham's "The wonder that was India", London, 1954 is an important study in socio-cultural history of India where he did not ignore the folklore of Bengal.

4

Rev. William Morton's "A collection of proverbs, Bengali and Sanskrit, with their translation and application in English" was published from Calcutta in 1832. Prior to this Nilratna Sarman (Haldar) published his "The Kabita Ratnakar" or the collection of Sanskrit proverbs. The second edition of this book with Bengali and English translations appeared from Serampore in 1830 with the help of William Carey. It is to be noted here that the credit of calling attention of folklore and sociology is justly attributed to Rev. James Long.[60] His "Prabadmala or two thousand Bengali proverbs illustrating native life and feeling", 2 vols. appeared in 1868-69, "Bengali Proverb" in 1851 and he had collected more than 5000 proverbs from the womenfolk of Bengal. His "Scripture truth in Oriental dress, or emblems explanatory of biblical doctrines and morals with parallel or illustrative reference to proverbial sayings Arabic, Bengali, Canarese, Parsian, Russian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu languages" appeared from Calcutta in 1871; "Oriental proverbs and their uses in sociology, ethnology, philology and education" was puplished in 1876 from London. Long's "Oriental proverb, in the relation to folklore and sociology with suggestions for their collection, interpretation and publication" first published in 1875, reprinted from Calcutta again in 1956. "Eastern Proverb and Emblems of Long appeared in 1881 and "500 questions on the subject requiring investigation in the social condition of the natives", first published in 1862 which has been reissued from Calcutta in 1966 again after a period of 105 years with a minor change in the title. His activities had placed Rev. Long in deep debt of folklore scholars of Bengal. Rev. Long popularly known in Bengal as Padre Long also translated Dinabandhu Mitra's *Nil Darpan* into English. This drama depicts the brutality of the indigo planters and the sufferings peasantry. A vigorous campaign was started by the British-owned press against this book and its author and a libel suit was instituted against C. H. Manuel of the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta who was the publisher. Long

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wrote a letter to the trying authorities that Manuel was only the printer and he alone was the publisher. After this Long appeared in the prosecution box, was fined and sentenced to one month's imprisonment. It is interesting to note in this connection that "It has been claimed on behalf of a Frenchman, Louis Bonnard, who came to Bengal in 1777 that he was the first indigo planter in India. Carel Blume, however, asserted that he was the first person to introduce into Bengal this new source of wealth to the company".[61] The following table shows European Indigo factory and planters :—

TABLE VII †

European Indigo factory and planters and the area of land under Indigo Cultivation
From the Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of he E. I. C. (1832)

1	2	3	4
District	Planters	Factories	Cultivation in bighas
	124	983	17,22,405
Aligarh		Not received	
Meerut		2	6,250
Bulandashar		3	29,895
Agra	3		
Furrukhbad		10	32,300
Mynporee	3	5	13,000
Moradabad		3	13,840
Bareilly		6	19,295
Cwanpore		12	32,850
South Bundelkhand		3	
Fatehpore	2	4	68,000
Allahabad		29	23,217
Beneras		15	16,297
Mirzapur	5	25	19,800
Jaunpur	6	50	42,522
Gorakhpur		9	9,200
Azamgarh	2	22	12,900
Ghazipur	8	35	21,645

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District	Planters	Factories	Cultivation in bighas
1	2	3	4
Saran	13	29	34,843
Sahabad	1	13	
Tirhut	5	48	1,21,900
Patna		1	1,000
Bihar		6	8,100
Bhagulpur		32	69,191
Monghyr	5	17	26,550
Purnea *	8	65	1,31,436
Malda *	3	24	70,757
Dinajpur *		3	821
Rangpur * *		24	21,405
Rajshahi * *	5	10	68,700
Pabna * *	19	99	1,69,347
Bogra * *	4	18	14,710
Murshidabad *		40	1,59,466
Birbhum *	1	7	15,125
Nadia *	19	56	1,59,517
Mymensing * *	1	35	64,945
Sherpur		3	4,397
Tipperah	7	7	19,200
Dacca Jalalpur * *		74	1,22,151
Dacca * *		10	34,392
24-Parganas *		5	5,100
Jungal Mahals *		22	46,500
Barasat *		2	1,480
Bakurganj ** (Barisal)		4	
Jessore * *	2	63	1,20,633
Midnapur *	2	24	6,870
Balasore		1	3,000
Burdwan *		8	22,258
* Total	124	983	17,22,405

* Places are in West Bengal.

** Places are in East Bengal or Eastern Pakistan.
Other places are scattered in different centres of India which were once in the Bengal Presidency.

Source : Economic Transition in Bengal,

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"For more than half a century oppression and lawlessness remained associated with indigo plantations. The local courts were unable to control Europeans. The *Sadar Dewani Adalt* was too far off. The Prussian discovery that led to a slump in the price of indigo was to come long afterwards. It has been suggested that it was only after that discovery when indigo could not yield sufficient profits unless grown at very low cost that the indigo planters become conspicuous for the oppression. The offensive feature of the system were already described quite early while indigo cultivation was perhaps most paying. The oppression was inevitable in the circumstances. It was wrong to expect moderation and clemency from those who were intent only upon making money and who had no traditional restraints or enlarged views".[61] Because of his translating *Nil Darpan,* the socio-political drama into English James Long was in the bad book of the *Sahibs* so he had gone into oblivion very quickly. It is to be said in this connection that prior to Dinabandhu Mitra's '*Nil Darpan*', Ramnarayan's "*Kulin Kula Sarbasva*", a drama on lineage system appeared in 1874. It is supposed to be the earliest Bengali drama that is a protest against prejudice, injustice and other social evils.

5

Henry M. Eliot's "Memories of history, folklore and distribution of races of North-Western provinces of India", 2 vols. edited, revised and rearranged by J. Beams, was published from London in 1869 is a useful early work. Besides, R. C. Temple's "Wide Awake Stories", (with F. A. Steel) 1884, C. Swynnerton's "Indian Night's Entertainment", 1839, R. Riseley's "Tribes and castes of Bengal", 1891, W. Crooke's "Religion and Folklore of Northern India," 1826, P. O. Bodding's" "Santal Folklore", 1926, C. H. Bompas's "Folklore of the Santal Parganas", 1909, William McCulloch's "Bengal household tales", 1912, D. A. Mackenzie's "Indian Myth, and Legend", 1913, Margaret Noble's "Myth of the Hindus and Buddhists" (with A. K. Coomarswamy), 1913, "Cradle tales of Hindusthan", 1907 and others encouraged and inspired the workers and scholars for undertaking the collection and preservation work. We have hurridly mentioned some persons with some of their useful works which widened the scope of folklore research in Bengal and also in India. It is just a random catalogue for the interested readers and hobbyists. The scholars and specialists of Bengal Folklore are well aware of all these information and much more. This preliminary survey work will perhaps serves no useful purpose to

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them which has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. It is designed for the commoners so we have not tried to incorporate exhaustive notes. Certain notes, of course, are included at the end of the study and they also are not for the specialists. Interested scholars and specialists may, however, consult the 'Select bibliography' or other valuable works elsewhere.

† NOTE :

The total numbers of planters and factories mentioned in the General Appendix to Report from Select Committee 1832 (p. 333, 119 and 899 respectively). But these figures prepared by the Examiner of India Accounts on the basis of Shakespear's statements are incorrect. From the same statements we get different figures. It should be noted, moreover, that Shakespear's statements do not give any figures regarding the number of planters for 22 districts, so that in all probability the total number of planters in the whole of the Bengal Presidency must have been more than 124. Similarly, the figures arrived at regarding the total number of factories and the total area of cultivation are not fully correct, because the number of factories and the area under indigo for Aligarh and Agra are not included in these. (H. R. Ghosal in Economic Transition in Bengal, p ; 292).

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CHAPTER : SEVEN : UNITED BENGAL

1

The name of Lal Behari Day[62] has already been mentioned. Perhaps he is the first successful Bengali in this field. His "Folktales of Bengal", won him world reputation. Rajendralal Banerjee's "A collection of agricultural sayings in lower Bengal" appeared in 1893 from Calcutta. Pratapchandra Ghosh's "The Vastu Yaga and its bearing upon tree and serpent worship in India" is an important essay which appeared in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* in 1870. K. Ghosal's "Prabad Sangraha" (In Bengali) appeared in 1890 and its English translation as "A book of proverb" appeared in 1893. Bholanath Dutta's "Daker Katha" is also a book on proverb appeared from Calcutta in 1897. Madhumadhab Chatterjee's "Prabad Padmini" was published from Chandannagar in 2 vols, 1890-1902, Murarimohan Biswas's "Bakyabinyas", Calcutta, 1848 is another book on Bengali proverb. Dwarakanath Basu's "Prabad Pustak" appeared in 1893 is a book on proverbs. B. Nayaratna's "Dak Puruser Vachan", Calcutta, 1928, is also a book on proverbology. There are references of many books on Bengali proverbs in "Bangla Prabad", Calcutta, 1952 by Sushilkumar De. It can be said without reservation that Rev. James Long took the lead in proverbology in Bengal and S. K. De fulfilled a long-felt need by publishing an exhaustive and scholarly collection of Bengali proverbs as "Bangla Prabad" with its Indian Bengali perspective. In between there have been written more than fifty books on proverbology including Satyaranjan Sen's "Prabad Ratnakar" and Jyotiprakash Banerjee's recent book "Prabad Janma Kahini", (the birth history of Prabad), Calcutta, 1959.

T. H. Lwein's "Progressive colloquial exercises in the Lushai dialect" contains some tales which was published from Calcutta in 1874, at least 10 years before the publication of "Folktales of Bengal" by L. B. Day and hundreds of collections of Bengali folktale in English appeared in early and in later period but Day's popularity is unequal which is

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also acknowledged by W. Crooke in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. V, No. 3, June, 1895 in the following line :—"As the author of "Folktales of Bengal" and other valuable works, such as, "Govinda Samanta", his death may be fittingly recorded in a publication like this, which is devoted to the collection of Indian folklore. Few men had a wider knowledge of his countrymen and his works will always have a special value of their own". John Marshall's "John Marshall in India, notes and observation in Bengal", ed. by Shafaat Ahmed Khan, London, 1927 consists some Bengali tales, charms, customs, medicine, omens, and other important materials. John R. Reinhard's "Stroker shared" is also a folktale book, this is concerned mainly to Santal folktale which was published in 1923 in the *Journal of the American Folklore Society*. Kasindranath Bandyopadhayaya's "Popular tales of Bengal", Calcutta, 1905, T. B. Bradley-Birt's "Bengal Fairy Tales", Calcutta, 1916, Ramananda Chatterjee's "A folk epic of Bengal" in *Modern Review*, 1938 are important. Ramananda Chatterjee also wrote the introduction of Shaikh Chelli's "Folk tales of Hindusthan" and had written an article on folk speech in a Bengali magazine; *Dasi*, in 1895 which is an early attempt at folk language and was reproduced in "*Kalyani*", Calcutta, in Ashar 1372 B. S. It may not be out of place to point out that an attempt at the collection of folk words etc. in Bengal started long ago but the successful work presented in this field in recent years by Bangla Academy of Dacca. Chintaharan Chakravarti in an article in "Kalyani", Vol. VIII, Saradiya Sankhya, 1372 B. S. (which has been reproduced in the book "Bibidha Prabandha" ed. by Sankar Sen Gupta and A. K. Kayal, Calcutta, 1372 B. S.) said that up to 1315 B. S. there was no remarkable effort in Bengal in this field. In 1320 B. S. in *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* it is found that a *Sabda Samitee* was formed in which Sir Gurudas Banerjee was the Chairman and Hemchandra Das Gupta, Secretary. Rabindranath Tagore, Hirendranath Dutta, Saratchandra Shastri, Nagendranath Vasu, and others were its members.

Jnanendranath Gupta's "Upakatha", a book on Bengali folktale, appeared from Calcutta in 1929. Kalipada Mitra also collected huge folklore materials and had written quite a number of essays in different journals like *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Man-in-India, Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Journal of Bombay Branch of Anthropological Society* and in others. His folktale collection appeared in *Man in India* in 1938 which was a Munda tale. "Oriental and other parallel of some Santal tales" of Kalipada Mitra appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1929. Sukumar Haldar's "Ho folklore" is a collection of Ho tales, or tribal tales, appeared in the *Journal of Bengal Bihar and Orissa Research Society* between 1915 to 1922. Some of

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Haldar's collected stories were also reproduced in *"Indian Folklore"* 1958-59. S. C. Mitra's prolific writings inspired many a present-day folklore scholars of Bengal and India to go ahead. He had covered almost all the aspects of folklore but his field of study was Bihar and Bengal. He had collected hundreds of tales and legends. His writings on bird myth, plant myth etc. are simply wonderful. He has also contributed to the study of religion, cults, rituals, beliefs, games, proverbs, riddles, superstitions, witchcrafts, demonology, custom, charms, rites etc. and rendered most valued service. Satischandra Roy is another notable person who has contributions on songs, custom, demonology, superstition, religion, belief, tale and others primarily in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* and *Man-in-India* and in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society,* Bombay. S. C. Mitra[63] of whom we mentioned before was an important and painstaking scholar of Bengal folklore who had contributed not less than 400 articles in different learned journals of this country and outside. He was a lawyer by profession and for sometime a teacher in the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta. His articles are scattered in different journals and it is necessary to publish some of his selected articles in a book form. S. C. Roy,[64] one of the early anthropologists of India was also originally a practicing member of the legal profession. He had done much to make the government appreciate and specially of tribals and land-laws, religion, custom, and many other details of the tribal people of Chotanagpur region and had founded "Man-in-India" in 1921. His "The Mundas and their country" was published in 1921 which was followed by "The Oraon of Chotanagpur", 1928. "Oraon Religion and Customs", 1928 and others.

Charuchandra Das Gupta received Ph.D. in 1941 for his thesis on the "Origin and evolution of Indian clay sculpture" which appeared in book from only in 1961 by the University of Calcutta. Ramaprasad Chanda's "Indo-Aryan Races", 1916, a publication of Varendra Research Institute, Rajshahi, Haraprasad Shastri's learned articles, speeches and books (which appeared recently from Calcutta as *Haraprasad Rachanabali,* ed. by Sunitikumar Chatterjee and A. Kanjilal), Haranchandra Chakladar's essays and books on social anthropology deserve mention. Niharranjan Ray's *"Bangalir Itihash"* Adi parba, N. K. Chattopadhyay's "The Yatra or the popular drama", London, 1882, B. A. Gupta's "Hindu holidays and cereconies", 1919 should also be mentioned in this connection for their scholarly importance.

2

Here we should remember the name of Dr. Verrier Elwin although

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he devoted his life to humanitarian service among the tribal peoples of M. P., Assam and North East Frontier Agency of India, he has practically no work on the tribals of Bengal. But undoubtedly he has a dominating influence on the anthropologists and other tribal workers who work on the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, and other marginal communities of Bengal. He realised more deeply the problem of the tribals than many others which led him to formulate his idea on tribal world and this he has described in his book—"The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin", 1965. It is impossible to state Tagore's role in the folklore movement of Bengal in such small space since he had not only collected folklore but also had utilised folklore in his writings, encouraged and enthused scholars and workers for folklore study. We have already mentioned some of his works previously and for a detailed study we will refer to "Folklorists of Bengal" and other essays on Tagore by the scholars of West Bengal and East Pakistan. Some foreign scholars, like Dusan Zbavital, Heinz Mode have also written articles on Tagore's role in folklore movement in Bengal. The attention of Asutosh Mukherjee (1864-1924), the then all powerful Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, was drawn to the wealth of folklore of Bengal by Dineshchandra Sen[65] and in this he could ably utilise the service of Dineshchandra Sen who was a genius. His four volumes of *Purba Banga Gitika* or *Mymensingh Gitika* which appeared both in English and in Bengali in the following years by the University of Calcutta : In Bengali, part 1, 1923, part II, 1926, part III, 1938 & part IV, 1932 and in English, part 1, 1923, part II, 1926, part III, 1930 and part IV, 1932. Besides, his "Folk literature of Bengal" appeared in 1920, *Banglar Puranari* (Womenfolks of Bengal village, 1939) *Gopichander gan* (The songs of Gopichandra, 1917) and others won him world reputation. Gurusaday Dutt,[66] a civilian, will ever be remembered for his establishing Bratachari Society,[67] initiating folksong and dance movement, and physical culture through songs and dances. His *"Patua Sangit"* (songs of the Patuas, a folk community who are neither Musalman nor Hindu, they practice Musalman religion, compose songs on Hindu gods and goddesses) was published by the University of Calcutta in 1939. He was equally brilliant in writing both English and Bengali and has several important essays on folk arts of Bengal, folk dances of Bengal. Toru Dutt,[68] a genius, died at the age of 21 only had been able to enlist her name in the Cambridge History of English literature, and had written "Ancient ballads and legends of Hindusthan", London, 1882. Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar[69] came out with "Thakurmar Jhuli" (Old grandmother's tales, 1907) and got maximum patronization from Dineshchandra Sen, Rabindranath Tagore and others who were

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interested in Bengal folk tale. Subsequently, he scored in this field by this and other books where he was able to maintain the original diction and folk dialects. His "Thakurdadar Jhuli" (Old grandfather's tales, 1909), "Thandidir Thole" (Grandmother's bagful of tales), "Thakurdadar Thole" (Grandfather's bagful of tales) are very popular even today. The field of his tales were East Bengal, now Eastern Pakistan. With his books Dakshinaranjan is a household name. Another important person is Jogindranath Sarkar[70] who brought a revolution by publishing "Hashi O Khela" (Laugh and play, 1861) and then "Hashi Khushi" (Wave of pleasantry, in two parts, 1897 & 1898). He has no less than 23 books to his credit and all his books were written for children. His another important book is "Khukumanir Chhada" (The nursery rhymes for the girls, 1889). The introduction to this book was written by the great scientist-literatuer, Ramendrasundar Trivedi whom we have mentioned earlier. Upendrakishore Roychaudhury[71] is another important person in this field. His "Tuntunir Boi", a folktale collection, has a magical appeal to children. Upendrakishore was also an artist and musician in himself, a pioneer in the block-making industry and a founder-editor of a juvenile magazine "Sandesh" (literary meaning, a sort of sweetmeat as well as news) Abanindranath Tagore's[72] "Banglar Brata" (The Vrata rituals of Bengal, 1367 B. S.) and other books besides his talent for organising a new school of art on national lines have made him immortal. Indiradevi Chaudhurani's "Banglar Stri Achar" (Marriage custom of the women folk of Bengal, 1363 B. S.), Kshiti Mohan Sen Shastri's "Banglar Baul" (The Bauls of Bengal, 1954), S. K. De's "Bengali literature in the nineteenth century" are important additions in folk literature. Scholars of history of literature have also dealt with it. For example, Sukumar Sen's "Bangla Sahityer Itihash" (The history of Bengali literature, in Bengali in 4 parts and also his English abridged edition of the History of Bengali literature), Sunitikumar Chatterjee's "Origin and Development of Bengali Language and Literature", 1926, Amarendranath Roy's "Bangalir Puja Parban", (The worship and rituals of the Bengalis, 1939) Chintaharan Chakravarti's "The Tantras studies on their religion and literature", 1963, Manindranath Basu's "Sahajia Sahitya", (in Bengali, 1930), Ashitkumar Bandyopadhyaya's "Bangla Sahityer Itihash" (History of Bengali literature), Calcutta and in many others contain materials of different sections of Bengal folklore. Mohammad Monsuruddin's "Haramani",[73] is a collection of folk songs of Bengal, the first part of which appeared in 1943 from the University of Calcutta with a prefatory note from Rabindranath Tagore and the subsequent eight parts of this book published from East

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Pakistan which are not readily available in this part of Bengal due to irregular relations between the two parts. Srikumar Banerjee had written a brilliant piece *Rupkata* (folktale) which has been included in the selection for Intermediate studies of the University of Calcutta. His other discussions on different aspects of Bengal folklore are noteworthy. Charuchandra Bandyopadhyaya, Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya, Kalidas Roy, Bijan B Ghosh Chaudhury, Tripurashaskar Sen Shastri and others also have contributions in the border of Bengal folklore.

Among the collectors of folklore Chandrakumar De[74] is very important. Most of the materials of D. C. Sen's *Purbabanga Gitika* are the collection of Chandrakumar De. It is said by Dusan Zbavitel in the introduction of the book "Bengali ballads from Mymensingh and the problem of their authenticity", Calcutta, 1963 that the ballads of *Purbabanga Gitika* or Eastern Bengal Ballad "were collected from various villages of the district—not all the ballads are provided with necessary localization—and most of them, 28 in number, are said to have been taken down by Chandrakumar De; three others were collected by Nagendranath De and two by Biharlal Roy whose name appears, in one other case, along with that of Chandrakumar De. In seven cases the editor omitted collector's name, but all these seven songs seem also to have been collected by Chandrakumar De. The names of the singers from whom the ballads were obtained are mentioned only in 13 songs . . .

"The collectors of folklore were, of course, not provided with the equipment of modern collectors, such as, tape-recorders, cameras, etc. Their pioneer work was full of difficulties and it is not surprising to find that the results bear all signs of amateurish work. However great these shortcomings may be, and however great the merit of the editor, D. C. Sen, it is necessary to mention, with deep respect and admiration, the name of Chandrakumar De, who is the real discoverer of this forgotten and neglected branch of Bengali folk literature".

It is to be noted in this connection that Dineshchandra Sen was a gifted writer who tried his best to raise the status of Bengal folklore. His "Folkliterature of Bengal", being the lectures delivered to the Calcutta University in 1917 as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow in the History of Bengali language and literature, was published in 1920 with a foreword by W. R. Gourlay. His "Glimpses of Bengali life" was prepared from the stray notes on some Bengali folk ballads like Minachetan or the song of Gorakhnath on Chandidas, Chaitanya's desertion of Nadia, humour in old Bengali poetry in 1925 from the lectures to the University in 1915 and "Behula", "Sati" mythological stories are also to be noted besides what we have mentioned in an early paragraph. Collectors

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like Brajasundar Sanyal, Mokshodaranjan Bhattacherjee, Kaminikumar Roy, Akshoykumar Kayal, Prabaschandra Bhattacherjee, Jibendrakumar Dutta, Jasimuddin, Nagendranath De, Biharilal, Roy, Kajem Ali, Biswaraj Dhanvantari and many others are important.[75] Here we should mention the name of Kedernath Majumdar[76], editor of "Saurav", a Bengali magazine, published from Mymensingh who discovered Chandrakumar De. "Saurav" served a useful purpose for Bengal folklore. Satyacharan Chakravarti,[77] a contemporary of Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar, had collected hundreds of Bengal folktales from different parts of Bengal and have published them in book from. All his books were very much popular but he was not guided by any discipline. Sibratan Mitra is another important person who hailed from Suri of Birbhum district and was a matured scholar. He had collected folktales. His "Sanjher Katha" (The tales of the evening, 1346 B. S.), "Nisir Katha" (The tales of the night 1344 B. S.) and others are wonderful. Nishikanta Sen was a field collector and a composer. But he was not always mindful of the stylistic purity of folklore or in the presentation of original folktale, on the contrary, he utilised folk materials in his creations.

Yet, the first large-scale systematic investigation, collection, and preservation remain as an important landmark in the history of folklore study in Bengal. And it has to be said that its credit should go to both the Eastern and Western scholars and workers of the last century. It is interesting that since the thirties of the last century, a new interest has been in evidence. Folklore itself has become altered in orintation which subsists between separate facts of culture.

Along with a deepening interest scholars and enthusiasts were more interested in the origin of things. Important studies have been made. Kedarnath Basu's "Notes on Nishi or night demon" appeared in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* in 1886, 1888, "Notes on some curious custom of the Koch" in 1893 and "On popular superstition in Bengal" in 1886, 1888. Biren Bonnerjea's "A dictionary of superstition and myth", London, 1928, "The power of magic of Bengal", 1929 both appeared in *Indian Antiquary*. His "Sharp-edged instrument in Bengal", appeared in *Man*, London in 1929, Manindra Bhusan Bhaduri's "Astronomy of the Munda and their star myth", appeared in *Man-in India*, 1922. Sashibhusan Dasgupta's Ph.D. Thesis "Obscure religious cult", 1938 appeared in book from in 1941 from the Univ. of Calcutta.

3

We should remember again that the nineteenth century Bengal proved to be a marvellously creative age, marked not only by the

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growth of new political consciousness in human minds in different parts of the world but also by brilliant achievement in the domain of knowledge, varied currents of thought, wonderful triumphs of science and culture causing a remarkable transformation in social life. Inspite of India's political dependence one can notice from the early years of the last century the advent of new forces which being nourished by various influences, caused a splendid awakening of Bengali minds, a luxuriant unfolding of Bengal's intellect in manifold petals, and the renovation of her society by purging of those evils and anamolies which had accumulated through unwholesome and adverse influences of preceding periods, particularly during the dark days of the eighteenth century. The birth of new age, and its progress on various lines, were caused and facilitated by certain factors, exotic as well as indigenous.[78]

We can glean the precious materials from what has already been said and also from R. C. Dutt's[79] "History of civilization of ancient India" 2 vols., London, 1889-90. Romesh Chandra Dutt's "Economic history of India under early British rule", 2 vols., London, 1906-08 is a pioneer work on Indian economics where the grievous sufferings of the large masses of population due to the policy pursued in England were forcefully discussed and it is an early document of people's life and condition. Brojendranath Seal's (1864-1938) "Positive science of ancient Hindus", 1915 and Benoy Kumar Sarkar's "Positive background of sociology", 1914, "Introduction to Hindu positivism", 1937 and "Futurism of young Asia" 1922 are important additions in this group.

Furthermore, it is of interest to note that most cottages of Bengal had spining wheels, and the mistress of a house sometimes earned "as much as four to seven shillings a week" (W. Ward in *A view of History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*). The decay of Bengal's cotton manufacture was certainly due to the policy to discourage Indian manufacturers. The rapid decline started as early as 1813 although the decay of the Bengal cotton industry did not begin or end at any definite day. It is not possible to form an accurate estimate of the total area of land under tillage. To encourage agriculture, The Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society was set up in 1820 in Calcutta at the suggestion of Dr. Carey. But the initiative and enterprise among those for whom it is meant, was not sufficient so it could not bring the desired result. "But, at any rate, the breakdown of the old economy was something providential, though the reconstruction of economy on new lines was within human control".[80] R. C. Dutt suggested preventive measures against all evils. But his suggestions were suggestion only. The powers were not mindful for the betterment of the masses. Still then, Dutt was greeted by men of thought and culture includ-

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ing W. C. Bonnerjea, in the following lines—"you have within a short time done much through the press and the platform to inform the enlightened public opinion in England".[81] No doubt a fact that the ancient life of Bengal have been subjected to more profound alteration than in many other parts of India. These forces of changes had affected Bengal's life. Although the villages of Bengal had succeeded in retaining the pre-dominantly rural character, yet considerable alteration in the economic relationship had taken place in the several kinds of villages of Bengal. The characteristic of the Bengal villages are—some villages predominantly agricultural, with or without a fair portion of artisan and upper castes, while others owed their origin to trade and industry or have been the centres of ancient learning.[82]

In any case, let us at the moment, do no more than draw attention to all these and to the fact that the folkloristic activities in Bengal has its root in caste, community and village economics. Economically adaptations to modern conditions are on a personal, individual basis. This is significant. So the social climate had been subjected to series of changes. In this survey of folklore study in Bengal, we should, therefore, mention some more works. The merit and quality of all these works varied from period to period. As sketched, this study places some primary facts for ready reference. In this chapter we have mentioned some books that appeared after independence because these works were done in United Bengal. Attention should also be drawn to M. C. Dutta's "Folktale of Bengal, 1893, 2nd 1920, Maharani Suniti Davee's "Indian fairy tales", 1922, J. N. Banerjee's "Some folk gods of ancient India", 1938, H. C. Chakladar's "Problem of racial composition of Indian people" 1938, B. C. Law's "Some Ksatriya tribes of ancient India," 1924, Ajit Mookherjee's "Folk art of Bengal," 2nd edn. 1946, and many others. Besides, eminent scholars like Kalidas Nag, H. C. Roychaudhury, D. C. Sircar, M. L. Roychaudhury, P. C. Gupta, S. K. Saraswati, Radha Gobinda Nath, Tarapada Bhattacherjee, Asutosh Majumdar, A. C. Sen, B. K. Majumdar, Mahadeva Prasad Saha, Asok Mitra, Ajit Ghosh, J. K. Guha, Nakul Chattopadhyay, Radhagobinda Basak have also touched Bengal folklore sympathetically in their histoical writings. Literary scholars like B. B. Majumdar, Khagendranath Mitra, Atulchandra Gupta, Kalipada Biswas, Kalidas Roy, Tripurashankar Sen, Bijanbehari Bhattacherjee, Rathindranath Roy, Annandashankar Roy, Debipada Bhattacherjee, Sajanikanta Das, Probodh Chandra Sen, Nandagopal Sen Gupta, Panchanan Mandal, and others are important. Jamini Roy, Sunayani Debi, Gaganendranath Tagore, Bishnu Dey, O. C. Gangoly, D. P. Ghosh, have made useful contributions in Bengal folk art. T. C. Raychaudhury's "Varendra Brahmins", in

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Man-in-India, 1929, S. K. Saraswati's "Forgotten cities in Bengal", in *Calcutta Geographical Review*, 1936 are informative materials. Ashit Kumar Haldar, Sailoz Mukherjee, Raimohan Chakravarty, Soumyendranath Tagore have contributions both in folk song and folk art of Bengal. Reputed dancer Udayshankar, singers Girin Chakravarty, Suresh Chakravarty, and others have distinct contribution for the promotion of the folksongs of Bengal. Manoranjan Bhattacherjee, Ahindra Chaudhury, Manmatha Roy, Charu Chandra Bhattacherjee and others have contribution on folk drama. Sivalal Bandyopadhyaya, Adris Banerji, Rajendra Kumar Bhattacherjee, G. D. Bysack, Hem Chandra Dasgupta, Nilachal Bysak, have also contributions in different branches of Bengal folklore. All these people and their works prepare us for fully developed view of Bengal folklore with more care and deliberation.

Apart from these, Gaurhari Mitra's "Birbhumer Itihash", 2 Vols., Jogeshchandra Basu's "Medinipurer Itihash", Abhoypada Mallick's "History of Bishnupur Raj", *Bakarganjer Itihash, Nadiyar Itihash* etc. district history books, T. C. Das Gupta's "Aspects of Bengali Society from Old Bengali Literature", Calcutta, 1935, D. N. Majumder's "Customs and taboos observed by an East Bengal woman from pregnancy to childbirth" in *Man-in-India*, 1923, "Notes on Kali Nautch in the district of Dacca", in *Man-in-India*, 1923, "Tribal Cultural and Acculturation", Presidential address at the 26th Indian Science Congress, Anthropology & Archaeology Sec., 1939, "Race elements in Bengal" (With C. R. Rao) 1960 are important. T. C. Das's "Cultural significance of fish in Bengal", *Man-in-India*, 1931 & 1932, "Sun Worship among aboriginal tribes of Eastern India", *Journal of Calcutta University, Department of Letters*, and anthropological papers on the Bhumijas, Wild Kharias etc. are useful publications. In addition to his dissertation S. R. Das has also contributed "A note on rain making rites", "a note on agricultural rite", "a note on votive clay figurines used in a folk rite of Bengal" and "Alpana of the Kumari brata of Bengal", all appeared in *Man-in-India* between 1943 to 1953. A. K. Coomaraswamy's "The nature of folklore and popular art" in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 1936-37 is a valuable document. Manjulika Bhaduri & Santosh Chatterjee's "Art of Hindu Dance", 1945, Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya's "Vaishnab Padabali" (Vaishnab Poems, 1961), Sukumar Sen's "Folkloric background of old Bengali literature" in *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, 1949, G. S. Dutt's "Indigenous dance of Bengal", Census of India, 1931, Devendra Satyarthi's "Folksongs of Bengal" in *Triveni*, 1940, Mukul De's "Birbhum Terracotta", 1959, can be mentioned as academic works but the merit of all these varies from person to person.

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CHAPTER : EIGHT : WEST BENGAL

1

The study of folk literature of Bengal is blundering into existence. It is a movement which requires to be carefully studied for it may exert a healthy influence on the national character. This demand is likely to be greater, so both the quality and quantity is important but whatever the quantity is, the quality is inferior at present.

If we look to the contemporary folklore publications in Bengal we will find that the Bengali mind is anything but unproductive. But its production are remarkable for quantity alone ; excepting a very few books of recognised excellence, they are a string of harmless commonplaces. The reason is that the majority of the educated classes are not taking serious interest to write or spare time for the cause of folklore in Bengal. Those who can teach the country and train their students consider it either not profitable or beneenth their social position to do so. There are, of course, a few honourable exceptions. Besides, there is also need of intelligent and critical books.

2

No doubt, many things began to change with the dawn of Independence. A sense of national pride in our ancient history, literature and culture gradually arose. An irresistible desire was felt for an Indian renaissance and for a revival of the past glories. A little before independence Sashibhusan Das Gupta came forward with his Ph.D. thesis "Obscure religious cults as the background of Bengali literature", 1938. Charuchandra Dasgupta's "Origin and development of Indian clay sculpture" was approved for Ph.D. Degree of the University of Calcutta in 1942 but the book appeared in 1961 which we have mentioned previously. Sudhir Ranjan Das started to research on "Folk religion of Bengal". A part of his D.Phil. thesis entitled "Folk religion of Bengal : a

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study of vrata rites" appeared in 1953. Asutosh Bhattacharyya's "Mangal Kavyer Itiash" (History of Mangal poetry), "Banglar Loka-Sahitya" (Folk literature of Bengal, 1957) and subsequent parts of this book are important additions. He was awarded Ph.D. from the Dacca University for his research on folk literature of Bengal in 1958. Other doctoral thesis of Bengal folklore in recent years are: "Simanta Banglar loka-yana" (The folklore of border Bengal, 1371 B. S.) by Sudhir Karan, "Uttarbanger Lokasangit" (Folksongs of North Bengal) by Nirmalendu Bhowmick (Bhowmick's book has not yet been published, it is in the press and will be published by the University of Calcutta). Banhikumar Bhattacherjee got D.Phil from the University of Calcutta for her research on "Bangla Gatha Kavya" (folk ballads of Bengal) and it appeared in a book form from Calcutta in 1962. Chittaranjan Ghosh is conferred with PRS for his thesis on 'Vrata ritual of Bengal'. A part of his thesis appeared in a Bengali Monthly, now defunct, "*Prabandha Patrika*" in Ashar, 1960 where its title was "Bangla Loka charyar ekti adhyaya" (A chapter of folklore study in Bengal). P. K. Maity's "Historical Study of the serpent goddess Manasa" is a Ph.D. thesis from London University which we mentioned in earlier chapter too. Amita Ray's "Village towns and secular buildings in ancient India" is also a D.Phil thesis of the Calcutta University which appeared in book form from Calcutta in 1964. B. K. Roy Burman's D.Phil thesis on the Totos, a tribal group of Himalayan tract of North Bengal has not yet been published in book form. P. K. Bhowmick's "The Lodhas of West Bengal" is a D.Phil. thesis on a criminal tribe of Midnapur district of West Bengal. Gauranga Chattopadhyaya's D.Phil. thesis "Ranjana—a village study" (a village in Midnapur district) is also an important book.

Chintaharan Chakravarti's "Banglar pal parban" (The ritual and ceremonies of Bengal, 1359 B. S.) and his 'The cult of Kataska Rudra appeared in JASB is a study of Charak Puja. J. N. Banerjee's "Panchopasana" (Five forms of worship, 1960), Sashibhusan Dasgupta's "Bharater Sakta Sadhana O Sakta Sahitya", 1367 B. S. are important. In this connection we should also mention some earlier works. A. K. Dutt's "Bharatbarsher Upasak Sampradaya" (Indian religious sects in 2 vols. in 1870 and 1833 which are an improvement on H. H. Wilson's "Sketch on religious sects of the Hindus" first published in *Asiatic Researches,* in vols. 16 & 17) Amulyabhusan Vidyanidhi's "Deb Debi Mahatma" (Glory of the gods and goddesses), Jogeschandra Roy Vidyanidhi's "Puja Parban" (Worship and ritual, 1368 B. S.) are important works on religion.

Upendranath Bhattacherjee's "Banglar Baul O Baul gan" (The

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Bauls of Bengal and Baul songs), Benoy Ghosh's "Paschim Banger Sanskriti" (The culture of West Bengal, 1957), Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya's "Lokayata Darshan" both in Bengali and in English, Sivaprasad Bhattacherjee's "Bharatiya Sahitye Baramashya" (Baramashya in Indian literature, 1959), Sukumar Sen's "Bichitra Sahitya" (Variegated literature, 1363 B. S.), "Islami Bangla Sahitya" (In Bengali, Musalman's Bengali literature, 1358 B. S.), Motilal Das and Piyushkanti Mahapatra's "Lalan Gitika" (In Bengali, Songs of Lalana, 1958), Kalyankumar Ganguly's "Banglar Loka-silpa" (In Bengali, folk art of Bengal, 1368 B. S.), "Folk design of Bengal", 1962 and "Banglar Bhaskaryya", (Sculptures of Bengal) are noted scholarly works.

3

Among enthusiasts and hobbyists we can name a number of persons. Mani Bardhan's "Banglar loka nritya o giti baichitra" (Folk dance of Bengal and a variety of folk songs, 1961) published by the Publicity Department of the Government of West Bengal, Tarinishankar Chakravarty's "Banglar utsab" (Folk festivals of Bengal, 1962), Sudhin N. Ghosh's "Folk tales and fairy stories from India", 1965, Tribhanga Roy's "Bangla Mayer Rup Katha" (In Bengali, Fairy tales of Bengal, 1961), Nityananda Goswami's "Chhelebhulano Chhada" (In Bengali, nursery rhymes of Bengal, 1359 B. S.), Sadhanaprasad Das Gupta's "Bharater lokasankriti parichaya" (Introduction to folk culture of India, vol. 1. dance, 1962), Santidev Ghosh's "Gramin nritya o natya" (In Bengali, Village dance and drama, 1881 Sk.), Pareshchandra Mazumdar's "Banglar Kirtan" (The Kirtan of Bengal, 1369 B. S.), Budhadeb Roy's "Banglar loka sangiter ruprekha" (An outline of Bengali folk song, 1963), Tapanmohan Chatterjee's "Alpana", ritual art of women folk" with notes by Prof. T. C. Das, 1965, Ajit Mookherjee's "5000 Indian designs and motifs", 1965, Sukumar Sinha's "Handicrafts monograph on conchshell products", 1965, Subodh Ghosh's "Bharater Adibasi" (The tribal people of India, 1355 B. S.), Nihar Chakravarty's "Kanchanjangher Chhelemeye" (The sons and daughters of Kanchanjangha, 1958), Charulal Mukherjee's "The Santals", 2nd edn., 1962, Monoranjan Roy's "Adim Samajer Itihas" (In Bengali, the history of primitive society, 1962), Sudhangsukumar Roy's "Ritual art of Bengal", 1961, Tarapada Santra's "Howrah zelar lokasanskriti" (The folk culture of the district of Howrah, 1960), Chittaranjan Deb's "Banglar Palligiti" (Village songs of Bengal, 1965), "Palligiti O purba banga" (Village songs and East Bengal, 1960) and others are important. Besides there are a good number of collectors of Bengal folklore who might not have

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books to their credit but have contributed much on Bengal folklore and have written several useful articles. In this sphere the name of Kaminikumar Roy comes to our mind first. He is a mature worker and for the last thirty five years is a regular contributor to different journals and magazines like *Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Prabasi, Masik Basumati, Kalyani* and others. He has collected the bulk of his materials from Mymensingh, Eastern Pakistan and is at present working on folk dialect after his retirement from service. Akshayakumar Kayal is another field worker who has also written some useful articles on folk dialects, folk cults, etc. in *Sahitya Parishat Patrika, Prabasi,* "Indian Folklore" and in others. Satyendranarayan Majumdar, an enthusiast and a marxist worker of North Bengal has contributed articles in different journals including "Folklore". Charuchandra Sanyal, a medical practitioner has also collected valuable materials on Rajbanshis, a scheduled tribe of West Bengal. He is living with these people for more than 35 years and from his long association with these people he has been able to bring out an important monograph on the Rajbanshis which is published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Kalidas Dutta, an enthusiastic archaeologist has written some important articles on folk cults and has also collected some useful ballads of the South Sundarvan areas of 24th Parganas. Gopendrakrishna Basu is working on the folk cults of Bengal for more than 30 years and it is a happy remembrance that he has of late been able to bring out a book as "Banglar laukik devata" (In Bengali, folk gods and goddesses of Bengal, 1966) where he has treated 33 folk gods and goddesses with photos. It is a useful book and has got warm reception from the cultured people of Bengal. Ranajitkumar Sen has also some work in this field. He has written articles and essays in different journals which he has included as a chapter on folk literature and culture in his book "Bangla Sahitya O Bangali Sanskriti" (Bengali literature and the culture of Bengal) in addition to his book "Baul Raja" (The King of the Bauls) in which he has treated the bio-bibliographical account of Lalan Fakir. Gopal Haldar, Narayan Chaudhury, Dwijendranath Basu and others too have contributions in Bengal folklore. Gopinath Sen has not less than 30 articles so far in different newspapers and magazines including "Folklore". Kamal Majumdar, Dilip Mukhopadhyay, Nripen Goswami, Sunil Chakravarti, Vajramitra, Arun Ray, Dipak Bhattacherjee, Haradhan Dutta, Dulal Chaudhury, Giridhari Raichaudhaury, Piyushkanti Mahapatra, Jogilal Haldar, Hemanga Biswas, Narahari Kabiraj, Hiteshranjan Sanyal, Nepal Majumdar, Manicklal Sinha, Debiprasad Bandyopadhyay, Khagendranath Roy, Jaydeb Roy, Jatindra Mohan Dutta, Amarendra Mukhopadhyay and others have written

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articles etc. on folk arts, folk rituals, folktales and speech. Gouranga Gopal Sen Gupta rendered very useful service by bringing out a book that consists of the bio-bibliographical sketches of the Indologists with Gopal Bhowmick and Manajit Bose have also contributions on folk songs.

4

Asok Mitra's "Tribes and castes of West Bengal", 1953, "District Census Handbook", 1951, Amiyakumar Bandyopadhyaya's "Bankurar Mandir" (The temples of Bankura, 1955), J. N. Sen Gupta's "West Dinajpur", A. K. Das & M. K. Raha's "The Oraon of Sundarvan" 1963, Amal K. Das's "The Koras and some little known communities of West Bengal," 1964 can also be mentioned. P. C. Das Gupta's "The early terracottas of Tamralipta", 1958, "The terracottas of Hetampur", 1966, "Exploring Bengal's Past", 1966, and the excavation report of Pandu Rajar Dhibi, Sursuna and others are important.

Anthropological books under the guidance of B. S. Guha, K. P. Chattopadhyaya, D. N. Majumdar, N. K. Bose, T. C. Das, S. S. Sircar, M. N. Basu, P. C. Biswas, D. K. Sen, R. K. Mukherjee, have come and are coming out in bulk and most of these have some standard. Among young anthropologists—Surajit Sinha, Gauranga Chattopadhyaya, P. K. Bhowmick, Gautamshankar Roy, Bhabananda Mukherjee, Samir Ghosh, Mani Nag, Mrinalkanti Roy, Sachin Roy, Priti Mitra, Jyotirmoyee Sharma, Satadal Dasgupta, and Rebatimohan Sarkar are doing well.

Some important works have been published recently on Indian folklore study under the guidance of the Indian Folklore Society. They are : "A Guide to Field Study", a compliation of 18 articles, 1966, "A bibliography of Indian Folklore and related subjects", 1967, "Folklore Library", 1966, "Studies in Indian Folk Culture", 1964, "A Comparative Study of a Bengal Folktale", 1966, "Tree Symbol Worship in India", 1965, "Rain in Indian Life and Lore", 1963, "500 questions on the subjects requiring investigation in the social condition of the people of India", 1966 Folklore Research in India", 1964 and others.

In recent years different scholars are trying to treat different aspects of Bengal folklore and a number of scholars have registered their names in the universities of Calcutta, Rabindra Bharati and in others for D.Phil or Ph.D. studies.

5

It is necessary to point out the activities of some foreign scholars in this connection. Dusan Zbavitel, a Czecholovakian scholar has

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done a remarkable work by bringing out the book "Bengali folk ballads from Mymensingh and the problem of their authenticity", 1963 from the University of Calcutta. It is an important study which speaks of his vast knowledge of the subject. Besides he has also written some important articles in "Folklore", (India) on different aspects of folk literature of Bengal. Heinz Mode, a German Archaeo-Indologist, has important books on Bengal folktale and is also working on folk art of Bengal. He is famous in India and Ceylon as a noted archaeologist and has also established his position in India as a folklorist. His student Ralph Troger has recently completed his Ph. D. thesis on Bengal folk tales. A part of his thesis as "A Comparative Study of a Bengal Folk-tale" has just been published from Calcutta that speaks of the vast knowledge Troger has in the field of comparative study of folktale. Edwin C. Kirkland in his "A bibliography of South Asian Folklore", 1966, has also treated Bengal folklore. Edwin C. Dimock (with A. K. Ramanujan) of the Chicago University has contributed an article on the serpent goddess Manasa and has translated some songs of Lalan into English besides his research on Vaishnabism and others. Stith Thomspson's "The Oral Tales of India", 1958, "Types of Indic Oral Tales" etc. 1960 are internationally accepted books for matured scholarship.[84]

In closing this chapter a reader is reminded again that this is a preliminary survey report where some essential information are recorded and where some minor inconsistencies might also be noticed.

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CHAPTER : NINE : EASTERN PAKISTAN

1

Eastern Pakistan is very rich in folklore. It is a store-house. After the formation of this state scholars and enthusiasts are making serious search and exploration work. Collection works are progressing very first. Bangla Academy, Dacca University, Rajshahi University are taking lead. They have funds, they have scholars and imagination. In course of a very short period they have been able to bring out some useful publications. These have encouraged a number of hobbyists. Bangla Academy has engaged some paid workers for collecting 'Anchalik Sabda' (local dialects) and in this they have been successful. Already they have published a book entitled as "Anchalik Sabda Sangraha" (A collection of local dialects), a counter-part of this will be published from Calcutta by Kaminikumar Roy of whom we have already mentioned. Among the important books published from Eastern Pakistan we can mention a few. Sivaprasanna Lahiri's "Shyleti Bhashatattyer Bhumika" (In Bengali, an introduction to the language of the people of Shylet, 1958), Abbas Zimal Ghulam's "Folktales of Pakistan", 1964, Alamgir Zalil's "Rajashir Chhada" (In Bengali, the nursery rhymes of Rajsahi district, 1370 B. S.), Muhammad Sirajuddin Kashimpuri's "Loka Sahitye Chhada" (The Nursery rhymes in folk literature, 1369 B. S.), Hassan Haffizur Rahaman and Alamgir Zalil's "Uttarbanger Meyeli Git" (In Bengali, the marriage songs of the womenfolk of north Bengal, 1369 B. S.), Raoshan Izdani's "Momenshahir Loka Sahitya" (Folk literature of Mymensingh, 1960) A. K. Karim's "Changing society in India and Pakistan", 1956, Jasimuddin's "Folktales of East Bengal", 1959, Asraf Siddique's "Bhombaldas, the uncle of lion," 1957 & "Toontooni, pie etc"., 1964 are important. Besides, Mozharul Islam's "A history of folktale collection in India and Pakistan" 1963 is a mimeograph copy and a Doctoral Thesis of the Indiana University. Mozharul Islam is a matured and one of the best folklore scholars of Pakistan who has written quite a number of

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learned articles in Bengali in *Sahitya Patrika,* Dacca ; *Sahityika,* Rajsahi and *Bangal Academi Patrika,* Dacca. Ashraf Siddiqui's doctoral thesis "Bengali folklore collection and studies during British Period, 1800-1947" and A. M. Zahurul Haque's dissertation "Treatment of folklore by Rabindranath Tagore" seems to be very interesting. Muhammad Sahidullah's *Bangla Sahityer Itibritta* (In Bengali, History of Bengali language, Dacca, 1960) offers a guideline for the future students. In his forthcoming book *Islami Biswakosh* (Encyclopaedia of Islam) he has utilised many folklore materials. Besides, Syed Murtaza Ali, Abdul Kadir, Syed Ahsan, Mahammad Idris Ali, Muhammad Abdul Hai, are also doing very useful works.

The characterestic of folkorology in Eastern Pakistan is that here some literary scholars and linguists have taken lead to the study. On their own initiative hundreds of untrained workers are also collecting folklore. Some of them have been deputed by Bangla Academy who are collecting and depositing their collections to the Bangla Academi against money. These are being preserved, classified and selected by the literary scholars. The land is yet to train some social scientists, historians and others who can view the subject scientifically and from different disciplines. Some scholars with western, especially American training, are very smart in their writings but they also sometime cannot assimilate ideas and thoughts of East and West in Indo-Park tradition and perspective and they are very much Americanised in their thoughts. It is, therefore, necessary for Pakistan to have some socio-biological scholars who can take up folklore for its promotion and scientific preservation.

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CHAPTER : TEN : ORGANISATIONAL EFFORTS

1

In 1833 the East India Company got a fresh lease for 20 years to rule India according to the Charter Act of 1833. Since then a great many efforts were made to establish the position of the Company on the one hand and to know the *natives* on the other. Side by side the then intellectuals of Bengal were also busy for the safeguard of their interests so a number of organisations cropped up. We know that in 1833 English education was accepted. Raja Rammohan Roy and many others had contributed to this. In accordance with the Charter of 1833 Zamindary Association was established in 1837 by Prince Dwarkanath, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and others. This association changed its name to Land Holders Society in 1838. British India Society was established in London in 1839, to be followed by Bengal British India Society, Calcutta in 1843. British Indian Association under the presidentship of Radhakanta Deb was formulated in 1851 six years prior to the 'Sepoy Mutiny'. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, father of Rabindranath, was its first Secretary. The great national uprising of 1857, the revolt of the Indigo cultivators encouraged the people to organize strong national movement. Different associations were formed both locally and on state level. Among them the most important organization was Hindu Mela which was the early form of the Indian National Congress. When Hindu Mela was formed it was known as Jatiya Mela or National Gathering or Choitra Mela. On the third year this Mela changed its name to Hindu Mela. For the foundation, success and development of Hindu Mela the name of Nabagopal Mitra will ever be remembered. The object of the Mela can be understood from the following : "We think we cannot find a better opportunity, a better occasion to fulfil this great want, than on Choitra Shankranti coming . . . it is the best occasion to see each other and reciprocate towards each others feelings of friendly love . . . to unite in one tie of brotherly love the various races and tribes of the people, who though living in one common social atmosphere, having

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one common interest, feel themselves so many different nations . . . . this attitude of segregation should be stopped. People of India should be united as one nation in socio-political-cultural and brotherly union".[85] Hence the resolution said, "It should be our object to raise up a vast nationality in India common of Christian, Hindoo, Parshee, and Mohammedan governed by one interest and one faith—viz. faith in supreme of human love and charity". The Mela was founded on April 12, (Choitra Sankranti Day, 1273 B. S.) ; it sowed the seeds for the socio-cultural developments too in Bengal. In the line of Hindu Mela *Jatiya Gaurabechha Sabha* was founded by Rajnarayan Basu. Dwijendranath Tagore organised *Swadeshiker Sabha* in 1865 eight years after the 'Sepoy Mutiny'. Bharat Sabha or Indian Association was established in 1876. This is also another important organisation from where the culture of nationalism spread. S. N. Banerjee in his book 'A nation in making' wrote : "The Indian Association supplied a real need. It soon focused the public spirit of middle classes and become the centre of leading representatives of educated community of Bengal".[86] No doubt, from these educated community Indian national movement started. Much earlier Raja Rammohan Roy started social reform movement, which was followed by Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and many other illustrious sons of Bengal. The Young Bengal also had a distinct contribution to the national awakening. Gradually different organisations began to appear. National Theatre was founded in 1872, National Conference in 1883 and so on. It is to be remembered that after the first national War of Independence of 1857 the British got their foothold strong in India and from 1857 to 1947, that is, for full 90 years their exploitation reached to pick. Different organisations were established both by Eastern and Western men of thought and culture some of whom we have referred to. Besides the activities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784, the works of the Bethune Society, Calcutta, 1864, Bengal Social Sciences Association, Calcutta, 1864, the Dawn Society, 1902, Anti Circular Society, Calcutta, 1905 should be mentioned with gratitude.

2

Then come the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. This association of the literateurs or Bengal has rendered most useful service by encouraging scholars and field workers to collect and publish as much materials on folklorology as possible. Most of the collections of their workers were published in their organ since 1301 B. S. How Rabindranath Tagore, Ramendrasundar Trivedi and other illustrious sons of Bengal enthused workers have already been stated. Indian Anthropological Institute,

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Calcutta, 1938, Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, 1933 should also be accounted for besides the endeavour of Gurusaday Dutt for the establishment of the All India Folksong and Dance Society as early as 1932. Anyhow, Gurusaday could not stick to this and quickly switched over to a new organization, Bratachari Society. In this he encouraged physical culture, songs, dances etc. with a nationalist spirit. It is to be noted that after the implementation of the Government of India Act in 1935, sporadic attempts were made in every walk of life for making organizations. Some high-sounding organizations were also set up but for want of sincerity and meditation of the organisers most of these could not thrive. Still for cataloguing pupose these organisations have their utility. So we mention the name of Gopinath Sen, a hobbyist who organised a meeting of Asiatic Folk Literature and also published a 16-page booklet as its proceedings. Thus far went his attempts. The organization was purely local but with a wide name which speaks of his visualization power.

Next Bangasanskriti Sammelan (Bengal Cultural Association). This is rendering useful service to popularise folk amusemental subjects, folksongs, folk dances, folk dramas etc. to the city people. The Indian Institute of Art in Industry, Calcutta, The Design Centre, Calcutta are also doing their part in popularising folk arts and crafts of Bengal. Tarapada Lahiri organised "Gambhira Parishad" (an association of folk song and dance of Malda district) and this association did some important work. Nirmalendu Chaudhury, a popular folk singer has organised 'Loka-Bharati', a folk music school. So V. Valsara has founded Saaj-O-Awaj, a musical association, which also is serving the cause in its way. Recently two organisations have come into existence. They are—Bengal Folk Culture Research Institute by Asutosh Bhattacharyya and Folk Music and Folklore Research Institute, by Hemanga Biswas, Khaled Chaudhury, Nilima Barua etc. and both the organisations are situated in Calcutta. All these organisations were founded with the advent of Independence and most of these organisations are still in their infancy. It is not therefore possible to evalute their roles. But the efforts of "Bharatiya Gana Natya Sangha", "Kranti Silpi Sangha" are to be mentioned here for their activities for the propaganda and development of folk musical works. Before conclusion we should also mention the effort of Biswaroopa Theatre, Calcutta for organising yearly *Yatra* (folk drama) festival for some years. There have been more such attempts in different rural and urban centres on local basis. Here it is necessery to remember the endeavour of Bratachari Kendriya Nayak Mandali which is trying to promote folksong and dance of Bengal. Nabanidas Baul

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was an institution in himself. Santidev Ghosh and Purnadas Baul has also organising ability in edition to their popularity as musicians.

3

All India Radio is a powerful organization which broadcast Bengal's folksong, discussions on folklore and related subjects from its Calcutta and Siliguri stations. A number of folk singers have been introduced and made popular by the Calcutta and Siliguri Stations of All India Radio including Girin Chakravarty, Suren Chakravarty and Amar Pal. The Government of West Bengal has two organizations which are also doing work on folklore in this way or that way. They are the Folk Entertainment Centre, which is devoted to songs, dances, and drama while the other is the Cultural Research Institute which is concerned with tribal study. It is to be said in this connection that the attention of the Government was drawn to this subject in its First Five Year Plan Programme when the Government of India set up (1) Khadi & Village Industries Commission, (2) The All India Handicrafts Board, (3) All India Handloom Board, (4) The Coir Board, and (5) Central Silk Board. Some of these organizations have their branches in Bengal and they are doing their parts. The Education department of the Government of West Bengal organise weeklong folk festival every year in Banipur in the Hooghly district for some years and this has also attracted some persons. Directorate of Industry are trying to promote art and craft products of West Bengal. Recently organised Tourist Bureau of the Development Department of of the Government of West Bengal and the Gazeteer branch of the Home Department are also taking interest in Bengal folklore and its neighbouring subjects. Besides, the Directorate or Archaeology, West Bengal, Works and Buildings Department, some rural, tribal and scheduled caste organisations are also trying to promote their culture, in their own way and thereby serving the cause.

4

The Indian Folklore Society was established in 1957 which has achieved a rare distinction in course of its short existence. Undoubtedly the credit of launching an All India folklore movement goes to this Society as also to the journal "Folklore" which has earned national and intednational reputation. Both the Society and the journal "Folklore" are founded by Sankar Sen Gupta. In connection with the works and activities of the Indian Folklore Society a recent letter

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addressed to Sankar Sen Gupta by Shri V. R. Narla, Member of the Indian Parliament and editor, "Andhra Jyoti", quality Telugu daily of Vijawada may be quoted. He said that "I am one of those that sincerely believe that our nation will be poorer if it does not take steps immediately to collect all its folk-songs, folk-tales, and other folk-literature. With the steady urbanisation of our country all this rich heritage will be totally lost unless we are alert now in preserving it for posterity.

"At this point I am reminded of what the Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union said to me way back in 1958 in Moscow. When I was explaining to him the work I was then doing for the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi in collecting all our idioms and proverbs, he remarked that in their own case they neglected this vital work for about a generation and in consequence it suffered a great deal. He further remarked that obviously we in India have taken up work in this direction in right time before urbanisation of our country made us lose much of our folk legacy. . . .

"In view of all this I am full of appreciation of the great service which you and your Society are rendering. In fact, it is nothing but a sort of national service".

In another letter Kakasaheb Kalelkar, noted Indian writer and a leader on Gandhian Philosophy said, "Cultural contacts have proved more valuable for India than mere political propaganda and the brilliant efforts of Indian Folklore Society and Sankar Sen Gupta for collection, selection and publication of Indian folklore is certainly praiseworthy. By their works they have been making themselves felt. . . . This is a work for the nation and not for any individual gain. . . ."

Here we should also remember an honourable effort of Praphullachandra Pal who has brought out "Bharatiya Loka-Yana", a multilingual journal and it is published irregularly from Calcutta.

5

It may be an interesting point to note that sometime in March, 1962 an effort was made by Sankar Sen Gupta[87] to establish a National Folklore Institute under the direct patronage of the Government of West Bengal. With this object in view he approached the then Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy to consider his proposal. Dr. Roy appreciated the idea and immediately directed the Director of Publicity, P. S. Mathur to take up the proposal officially and to submit a definite plan to him for his consideration. Then the Director of Publicity, P. S. Mathur, contacted Sankar Sen Gupta, requested him to see him for discussion on it and to prepare a memorandum for the Chief Minister. Consequently an official

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meeting with Sankar Sen Gupta and P. S. Mathur was held at Writers' Buildings. In the light of the discussion in the meeting a memorandum was prepared for the Chief Minister. Then a meeting was organised at the room of the Chief Minister with Dr. Roy and Sankar Sen Gupta, editor "Folklore", P. S. Mathur, Director of Publicity, D. Majumdar, Director of Tribal Welfare, Aparesh Lahiri, Mani Bardhan (folk singer and dancer) and K. P. Sen of the Rabindra Bharati University on the 17th April, 1962. The meeting was organised by the Director of Publicity who issued invitation letter as under : "The Chief Minister desired to hold discussions with you in his room on the 17th April at 6 p.m. in connection with the proposal of setting up an Institute of folk art and culture in Calcutta, submitted by Shri Sankar Sen Gupta, editor, "Folklore". " It was decided in the meeting that K. P. Sen of the Rabindra Bharati University will again meet Sankar Sen Gupta to draft the final plan for submission to the Chief Minister for his approval. But, unfortunately, no further meeting could be organised within a period of three months. Meantime, Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister, suddenly breathed his last on July 1, 1962. Of course, the matter was not referred to his successor, Sri P. C. Sen, who was also sympathetic to the cause and was also the Chairman of the Reception Committee, All India Folklore Conference, Calcutta, 1964.

6

We should admit here that we have no clear idea about the organisational endeavours in Eastern Pakistan. We have already mentioned that Bangla Academy, University of Dacca and Rajshahi University are doing commendable works but uptodate news and activities of these and other sporadic organisations are not with us to enable us to catalogue their activities here which is unfortunate. When the world is getting closer day by day the partition of the country[88] has compelled us not to know anything about our next-door neighbour. It is a pity.

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CHAPTER : ELEVEN : CONCLUSIONS

1

Several conclusions can be drawn from what have been said so far. First, if the scholarly interest in folklore is not a legitimate object of study for the folklorist because it belongs to the realm of anthropology, then the folklorist of Bengal must be an anthropologist as well in order to be able to study fully the inseparable oral and behavioural components of the tradition of the people of Bengal. For a comprehensive study of folklore it would necessitate a thorough search of the vast accumulation of written literature of past centuries that has received a vivid form. Second, the tradition-bound and religion-dominated character of folk life of Bengal provided it with an extraordinary capacity for absorbing elements of foreign countries. It constitute a challenge to the student of Bengal folklore. He must always be familiar with the results of International folklore studies, for Bengal folklore sometime contain non-Bengali elements and must be studied in its relation to them. Third, inspite of many outside influences, in the course at least a thousand years, especially Musalman and Christian, basically the folklore of Bengal remain unchanged. Bengali component in folk life of the Hindus is ultimately based in most cases on Hindu Puranas, Ramayana, Mahabharata and other religious documents. This religious oral tradition became the main moulding of Bengali Hindu life, with all its rites, customs, superstitions, beliefs and usages. This is also true for the Musalmans of Bengal. Their lifes and works are also influenced and guided by beliefs, traditions and customs of the rural Muslims. Therefore, many of the students of Bengal folklore may be enthused by the wealth of manuscript and printed collections from past centuries. He will find himself in a world of even great unexplored riches when he turns to the living lore of any Bengali community still anchored in its traditions. This is a point. Fourth, in certain specific details occassional contradictions can be discovered between the local tradition, specially in the religions and socio-anthropological books, on the one

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hand and the hard and fast rulings of the officially-sanctioned codes of conduct on the other, but whether noticed or not, the Hindu faiths are stronger than law was confirmed again and again so is the case with the faiths of the Musalmans of Bengal.

This study provides a brief outline of folklorology and folklorists of Bengal where almost all the knowledgable accounts, persons and organisations have been mentioned. In this it has been observed that scientific research and treatment is a modern thought and the Indian Folklore Society is the only organisation which is trying to give a lead in this direction. It is a pity that inspite of Government of India and different agencies spending and wasting huge amount of money for this type of activities Indian Folklore Society inspite of its sincerity, honesty and drive has not yet been offered with any financial aid from any quarters for improving the standard of their work and translating all their ideas and thoughts in practice. To a modern folklorist the important question is not what is folklore, on the contrary, what does folklore do for the folks. It has been suggested by matured scholars that folklore is aiding the young in education, it is promoting group's feeling of solidarity, it is serving as a vehicle for social protest, it is converting dull work into play, and many others. It is for the modern folklorist of Bengal to chart out as to how smoothly these can be applied to the society for welfare and cultural activities. The stream of these thoughts has just started in Bengal which should be flowed to the administrations. This will be a great work because it will make Bengal strong, integrated and progressive. It is to be noted that "The plea is sometimes put forward in favour of a wholesale return to the past as a means of economic rehabilitation of the country. This would, however, be putting the cart before the horse. What is desirable and feasible is a fair co-ordination between the old and the new. Traditions of the past may be utilized on sound national lines—and this has been done to some extent for the building up of an economic system conducive to real interests of the vast masses of the Indian population".[89] The present work has attempted to sketch an outline on the above thoughts and a socio-cultural profile of Bengal. After defining folklore—its schools, forms, patterns, and conflicts we have indicated a form of classification. These may have an influence in determining the future course of study and might therefore serve as a basis or model for detailed classification.

In discussing the subject we have not over-looked more recent activities and movements rather have asserted with a large number of young scholars and enthusiasts. Those people are not mentioned here who have not satisfied us with their perseverance, honesty and sincerity

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to the subject. Here we have pointed out certain activities, movements, value-conflicts, and a socio-cultural matrix of Bengal within the frame work of oral traditional culture and literature. We have also discussed faults arising from unscientific, unacademic, unsympathetic and unrealistic attitudees, treatments, views and investigations. We have ignored personal likes and dislikes and concentrated on what we take to be the basic forces for the folklore movement.

The book has also dealt with divisiveness, with conflicts within organisations and disciplines of study. The relationship between folklore and its neighbouring subjects should be classified and indexed with a critical insight and rigidity is an important suggestion which the work offers. This is to be learned. A knowledge of divisiveness can tell us more about the subject as well as that of our society and people. To this end let there be proposed a range of hints and theories and let there be much studies relevant to the points raised.

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NOTES

1. Handbook of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in West Bengal, Bull. of Cultural Research Institute, Special Series No. 8. Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, 1966.

2. The Population of Pakistan by Nazir Ahmed, Pakistan Quarterly, Autumn,—Winter, Karachi, 1965.

3. Census of India, 1961, Report of 1962. Government of India, New Delhi.

4. Ibid.

5. By the word Calcutta we mean Calcutta Metropolitan District that covers an area of about 490 sq. miles. The metropolitan area comprises 33 municipalities and 37 non-municipal urban area. The area extends ribbon-like on the two banks of the Hooghly river.

During the British rule Calcutta always remained the city of supreme administrative importance. It was the capital of India from 1773 to 1911. The partition of the country resulted in large-scale migrations of people from East Pakistan and which still continues. Rapid growth of population resulted in much overcrowding traffic congestion, housing problem, slums, and other serious problems. This called for comprehensive planning and development programmes to formulate which the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation was set up by the Government of West Bengal in 1961. For details please see the paper "Industrial Landscape of the Calcutta Metropolitan District" by Bireswar Banerjee, D.Lit. & Debika Roy, M. A. in "Human Events", Vol. 1. No. 1, July, 1967.

6. Select documents on the British period of Indian history : In the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Introduction, by D. C. Ganguly, Calcutta. The Trustees of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, 1958.

7. Tree Symbol Worship in India. A new survey of a pattern of folk religion. Introduction. ed. with an introd. by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1965.

8. A bibliography of South Asian Folklore, Introduction, by E. C. Kirkland, Folklore Monograph Series No. 21, Indiana University, Bloomington, U. S. A., The Hague, The Netherlands, 1966.

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9. Although 'folklore' is as old as the history of mankind—the word was coined only in the 18th century by W. J. Thoms. Ever since the word is coined different scholars hold different views about its definition. There has been no widesperad agreement among folklorists about the concept of folklore which can be illustrated citing "Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and legend," 1949, where there are 21 definitions of folklore only from the American scholars.

How Thoms became interested in 'Folk-lore' study, how he coined the word 'Folk-lore' etc. are described in Thom's "The story of Notes and Queries", reappeared in *Folklore*. Calcutta, Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1966, pp. 10-34, ed. and compiled by Dr. Mahadevaprasad Saha.

10. The collection of folklore of India was started by the travellers, British administrators, European Missionaries because of their necessity to know the language, culture, behaviour, customs, norms, beliefs and other details which are avilable in its pure form in the memories of the folk people and not in written form. Then the educated and enlightened Indians got enthused in it mainly form the nationalistic spirit. Thus Prof. N. K. Siddhanta, former Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta and Delhi Universities has correctly said "collection of folklore and folktales of India has not been the result of systematic effort in India as in other countries. Individual workers have distinguished themselves by persistent and painstaking endeavour" (Indian Folklore, April, 1956).

11. One could research with folklore for advanced study, that is, after passing Post-Graduate one could research on any aspect of folklore for higher studies but there is no scope for the study of folklore in the under-graduate classes nor there had any opportunity to study folklore in the post-graduate class. It is only in 1960 that an optional paper as Folk Literature has been introduced in the post-graduate (literature) class of the University of Calcutta. Some items of folklore are being taught to the students of anthropology under a broad heading of 'material culture' or other.

12. Dr. Richard M. Dorson, Director, Folklore Institute and Prof. of History, Indiana University, Bloomington in his article entitled "Current Folklore Theories" in the *Current Anthropology*, IV, No. 1. 1963 has said that the folklore should be studied in (i) comparative, (ii) national (iii) anthropological; & (iv) psychoanalytical mirror. The scholars and workers of Bengal folklore are not well-acquainted with all these theories in most cases. Of course, the modern scholars are trying to adapt modern research methods and techniques but as it is very much expensive and as a large number of our scholars are not able to provide all the costs for such studies in securing books, journals and other instructional materials as also not getting proper guidance some defects are being observed in the works of otherwise qualified scholars even inspite of their sincerity and viewing the subject with desired accuracy.

13. "Folklorists whose business is to study folklore frequently become infected and find that instead of studying folklore they are in fact making it". This is to be remembered that "the methods of the study of folklore: (1) collection of the data as they actually occur without, if possible, the intrusion of folklorists' own mythopoeia a primitive impluse which create folklore; (2) a comparison of data to determine what are the similarities and differences of these phenomena in the several ethnic groups;

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(3) an examination of the beliefs implicit in the data ; (4) of the social and psychological impulses which produce them, and (5) the functions of folklore perform for the individuals and the social groups through which they operate" (See *Folklore Dictionary, Mythology & Legend*, New York, 1949). But this is wanting in the study of Bengal folklore in most cases. Most studies are with literary bias, which concerns more to feelings than to scientific exactness.

14. Quoted from Stith Thompson from the "Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore", ed. by R. Patai, F. L. Utley & D. Noy, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1960.

15. E. B. Tylor in his "Researches into the early history of mankind and the development of civilization", Boston, 1885, 2nd part, pp. 114, 150, 191 used the word 'culture' which subsequently was defined by himself in his book "Primitive Culture", 1871.

16. See W. R. Bascom's "Four functions of Folklore" reproduced in the book *The Study of Folklore*, 1965.

17. "Folklore" (India) was founded in April, 1956 as 'Indian Folklore'. The journal changed its name to "Folklore" in 1960. During 1956 to 1957 only four parts of "Indian Folklore" were published (v. 1. n. 1. April. 1956, v. 1, n. 2. September-December, 1956. V. 2. n. 1. April-June, 1957 & October-December, 1957) which contain irregular volume number and issue numbers. From January 1958 the journal was published as a regular quarterly which continued up to December, 1959. In the year 1960 the journal changed its name to "Folklore" when the frequency was increased from quarterly to bi-monthly (6 times a year). In the year 1962 the journal again changed its frequency form bi-monthly to a monthly which is also the current periodicity of "Folklore", India.

18. "Indian Folklore Society" was formally constituted in November, 1957 at the initiative of Sankar Sen Gupta but its first preparatory meeting was held as early as January 26, 1956. (See Folklore Research in India, 1964). The Society is registered with the West Bengal Societies Registration Act of 1961 on the 12th September, 1964 as per the decision of the All India Folklore Conference, held in Calcutta between February 8-10, 1964.

19. The University of Calcutta decided at a meeting of the Syndicate to introduce a Special Paper on Folk literature in the Post-Graduate class in the department of Modern Indian Languages and Literature in 1960 (see "Folklore" vol. 1. No.1. January, 1960) Of course, the University began to cultivate folklore more than 60 years ago particularly at the initiative of Dr. D. C. Sen, the then Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of the University ; S. C. Mitra, P. Mitra and others of the Dept. of Anthropology ; and Abanindranath Tagore, Bagiswari Professor of the Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

20. Rabindra Bharati University Bill, 1961, Calcutta Gazetter, extraordinary, August 30, 1961, part IV-A, in its objects states :—to provide to study and research of folk music, folk dance, and indigeneous rural cultural expression of India and to arrange for the preservation before they become extinct with the impact of modernism". In accordance with this encouragements are being given to the students of this group. There are also research scholars both junior and Retd. professors on folklore in this university as disclosed in the annual report of 1966 by the Registrar.

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21. Malinowski said that "the anthropologist is not bound to the scanty remants of culture, broken tables, tarnished texts, or fragmentary inscriptions. He need not fill out immense gaps with volumnious, but conjectural comments . . . . The text of course, is extremely important but without the context it remains lifeless. . . . We must also bear in mind the sociological context of the primitive ownership, the sociable function and the cultural role of amusing function. All these elements are equally relevent ; all must be studied as well as the text. The stories live in the native life and not on paper, and when a scholar jots them down without being able to evoke the atmosphere in which they flourish he has given us but mutiliated bit of reality" (Cited by W. R. Bascom from B. Malinowski's "Myth in the Primitive Society"). It is a pointer for our investigator in the socio-biological science. Hence modern field scientists cannot ignore folklore when they view the subject as a whole. For details please see "A guide to field study", ed. with an introd. by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, 1966.

22. Folklorology progressed in Bengal on individual efforts. The Indian Folklore Society is the first organisation that started collective and co-operative efforts on all India level to explore, initiate and preserve folklore and to attract larger number of students and scholars to it. In this direction they have been able to bring out (1) Rain in Indian Life and Lore, 1963 (2) Studies in Indian Folk Culture, 1964 ; (3) Folklore Research in India, 1964 ; (4) Tree Symbol Worship in India, 1965 ; (5) A Guide to Field Study, 1966 ; (6) Folklore Library, 1966 ; (7) Folklorists of Bengal, 1965 (8) A Comparative Study of a Bengal Folktale, 1966 ; (9) 500 questions on the subjects requiring Investigation in the social condition of the people of India, 1966 (10) A bibliography of Indian Folklore and related subjects, 1967 etc. Thus from the quantitative points of view the progress is quite satisfactory. Qualitatively some works suffered for reason of fund as one can find in editorials, or the type writings of the respective books, because they could not provide for the investigators and researchers.

23. West Bengal comprises 34,194.1 sq. miles according to Survey of India record with a total population of 34,926,279 according to 1961 Census. It has a total 63 scheduled caste communities with a population of 6,890.314 and 41 sheduled tribe communities with a population of 2,054,081. More than 90 per cent of these people are illiterate who are mainly guided by traditions, customs, beliefs superstitions etc. and have their own folktales, folksongs, folkdances, folkarts & crafts, rituals, legends, gods & goddesses, cults etc. which are not available in written form. Details of all these can be available in the memories of the people.

24. Quoted from Dorson, "Folklore Research Around the World", ed. with an introd. by R. M. Dorson, Indiana University, Bloomington, U. S. A., 1958.

25. Quoted from Dundes, "The Study of folklore" by Alan Dundes, California University, Prentice-Hall, California, U. S. A., 1966.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend, New York, 1949.

29. See (1) Western Influence in Bengali literature, by Priyaranjan Sen, 1932 (2) Studies in the Bengali renaissance, by Atul Chandra Gupta, 1958 (3) The origin of national education movement, by Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, (4) A nation in making by S. N. Banerjee, London, 1928, (5) Modern Indian History by S. C. Sarkar and

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K. K. Datta, (6) Social Condition of Northern India in the second half of the 19th century, by S. Dua, (7) Bengal Subha, by K. K. Datta, (8) Educational policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854 by D. P. Sinha, 1854 (9) *Bangla Deser Itihash* (In Bengali, Pt. I, ancient period, pt. II, middle age) by R. C. Majumdar & others, 1966.

30. For further study (1) A Survey of recent studies on modern Indian history by K. K. Datta, 1957, (2) Folklore Research in India : Official Proceedings of the All India Folklore Conference, Calcutta, 1964 ed. by Sankar Sen Gupta, (3) Fifty years of science in India : Progress of anthropology and archaeology, by Nirmal K. Bose, 1963 (4) Anthropology in India, by L. A. K. & L. K. Bala Ratanam. Bombay, 1961, (5) Changing Face of Bengal by Radhakamal Mukherjee, 1938, (6) History of Bengal Vol. I, by R. C. Majumdar, 1943, (7) Literature of Bengal, by R. C. Dutt, 1887, (8) Economic History of Bengal, 2, vols. by N. K. Sinha, 1956, (9) Bangla Sahityer Itihas (History of Bengali literature, in Bengali, 4 vols. by Sukumar Sen, 1952-56, (10) Bengali literature by Annada Shankar & Lila Ray, 1942, (11) The Great Sentinel by S. C. Sen Gupta, 1948, (12) Folkliterature of Bengal by D. C. Sen, (13) Economic transition in the Bengal Presidency, by H. R. Ghosal, 1966, (14) Military History of India, and (15) History of Bengal, Vol. II, Muslim period, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and (16) Economic history of India under early British rule, by R. C. Dutt, 2 vols. London, 1906-08.

31. In Bengali we do not get any narrative poems other than those celebrating the activities of deities or deified heros until we come to seventh century. The framework of these religious poems of Bengal has affinity with the romantic narrative poems of western Indo-Aryan. The common features are (i) salutation to Ganesh, the god of success ; to Saraswati, the goddess of learning and to other deities at the beginning, followed by some account of the poet himself ; (ii) the hero and the heroine presented as incarnations of Vishnu or of a semi-divine couple temporarily under course ; (iii) description of town, kings, courts etc ; major character (iv) description of lovers' pleasure, and pains in each of the 12 months of the year (Baramasya). Before they took this written from these tales were recited by the professional storytellers (called Kathaks or Vacaks) attached to the courts of rulers. In this a new myth of cosmogony was evolved which is different from Sanskrit tradition but which has an unmistakable affinity with the cosmogonic hymn of Rig Veda. As in the Sanskrit Puranas Middle Bengali narrative poems on popular deities like Manasa, Chandi, Dharma, invariably begin with these cults.

Several local folk cults hitherto confined to outlying regions were now claiming attention. The person who took up the task of elevating the folktales and songs connected with these cults into class of 'Mangal' poetry was a Kayastha by caste, Krishnadas by name. He lived in a village about four miles to the north of Calcutta. His first work *Kalikamangal*, really a version of story of *Vidya Sundar*, was written in 1676 when he was only twenty years of age. The second poem *Sasthi Mangal.* was written three years later, 1679, Krishnaram's third poem *Raymangal*, was written in 1686 which continued to be written by others also.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century quite a number of poets all belonging to South-West Radha, wrote *Sitalamangal* poem of various sizes. One of them was Manickram Ganguli, the author of *Dharmamangal* poems. The biggest work of the *genre* was written by Nityananda Chakravarty who belonged to South-East Midnapur, his work enjoyed high popularity.

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The attempts of Krishnadas and other writers of the seventeenth century were not successful in the sense that this new 'Mangal' poems did not catch the fancy of the people. The old gods and goddesses, no doubt, continued to be worshipped as before but the Vaishnava influence was becoming all embracing and Vaishnava song guided the tastes of the literary-minded. The poems on local cults or regional deities, therefore, were accepted only at times of the particular rituals.

The tradition of the Pirs of Bengal has its origin in the thirteenth century. A few writers took up folktales to illustrate the might of Satya-Pir. A north Bengal writer Krishnaharidas, who wrote the biggest poem of the *genre* at the instance of the Muslim landlord, exploited local traditional lore. But the majority of them wrote very small poems using the same story that was obviously modelled as per the inspiring episode of *Chandimangal* and *Manasamangal* poetry. (Quoted from Sukumar Sen's "History of Bengali Literature, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1960).

37. The early devotional narrative poems are classed as *Panchali*. For a long period in the literary history of Bengal indigenous myths, inherited from old and middle Indo-Aryans were the sourse of Panchali composers.

33. After the twelfth century, the Bengali alphabet underwent normal development ; i.e. there were changes that were bound to happen in regard to material (first palm-leaf, then paper) and ease of writing. Up to the end of eighteenth century there were, so to say, two systems of writing, the ornamental style was cultivated by the professional scribes who prepared records and documents and by Brahmin scholars when they made copies of valued texts. The ordinary style appear in the bulk of Bengali MSS belonging to seventeenth century and later. The ornamental style was bound to be archaic ; it was practically identical with the Maithil script, and its original connection with Nagri is by no means obscure. The Bengali alphabet in its present form took shape in 1778 when printing types were first cast by Charles Wilkins. It should also be noted that towards the end of the seventeenth century Vaishnab poetry had been declining. The limited appeal in the Vaishnava poetry was wearing thin and in consequence of the popular lyric poetry (rather song) of the later eighteenth century had little connection with the story of the love of Radha and Krishna. It was quite true that the name of Krishna and Radha are not absent in many of them. But the names here are really aliases of mundane lovers. Perhaps the earliest of the eighteenth century writer to put Vaishnava lyrics in the popular form were Lalchandra and Nandalal, the oldest *Kabiwalas*, the two are believed have been brothers. The main difference between new *Panchali* and *Yatra* (folk drama) in the early nineteenth century was that the former was sung by one main singer and the latter by at least three while both had supporting singers and instruments players. (Quoted from Sukumar Sen's "History of Bengali Literature", 1960.).

34. *Kavi* songs are sung by two rival parties and the only instruments played were small drum (Dhol) and the belimetal plate (*Kansi*). The topic was generally mythological. The first singer would put a question in a song, the second would also give a reply in a song. These songs are mainly oral and composed on the spot as per situation and audience. The *Kabiwalas* were very witty and had considerable knowledge about mythology as well as the demand of the day or interest of their listners. The singer who was unable to give reply would lose the contest.

35. See "Story of Chandidas", by Priyaranjan Sen. Indian Publications, Calcutta,

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1963. In this book the author supports the Vidyanidhi school who was a believer that Chandidas belong to Chhatna of Bankura district.

36. *Bangla Sahityer Itihash*, (In Bengali history of Bengali literature, 4 vols. by Sukumar Sen). Dr. Sen elaborately described both the schools as an able writer of the history of literature. Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya, Sunitikumar Chatterjee and Dr. Sen believe Chandidas belong to Nanur of Birbhum and their opinion have got wide sanction.

37. For details please see History of Bengali literature, Sukumar Sen, New Delhi, 1960.

38. Ibid.

36. Saratchandra Chattopadhyaya (1876-1938) was bred up in the family of his maternal uncle in Bhagalpur, Bihar. In 1903 he went to Burma and found an employment there. The success of his stories and a steady income, in course of time, for him and as he was not keeping fit in Burma he gave up his job. He came to Calcutta and settled in a suburban part of Calcutta. He was sympathetic to woman depressed at home and tourtured occasionally. The social and domestic atmosphere in his stories and novels make the reader forgetful of the plausibility otherwise of the set up. He was also connected with the Indian National Congress and was very much critical of the contemporary society.

40. Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya (1838-1894) following the discipline of Iswarchandra Gupta began his literary career as a writer in verse. He was a civilian, a superb storyteller and a master of romances. No Bengali writer before or since has enjoyed such spontaneous and universal popularity as Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya. Of course, Rabindranath Tagore received wide appreciation but that also after he got recognition from the Western world and of his receiving the Noble Prize. Bankimchandra is the composer of 'Bandemataram', the song which was National Anthem for long. This song he composed in his novel *Anandamath*, a widely popular novel on the *Sannasi Bidraha* or Saint Revolt. This song has now been replaced by 'Janaganamana' written by Rabindranath Tagore.

41. *Bankim Rachanabali*, Essays and letters, ed. by Brojendranath Banerjee and Sajanikanta Das, published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta, 1940. See (i) On the origin of Hindu festival (ii) Popular literature (iii) Letters in Hastie controversy etc.

42. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. 1. by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1965.

43. *Alaler gharer dulal* (In Bengali, Pampered son of a wealthy family) is written by Pyarycharan Mitra (1843-83). This is his best representative work. The first specimen of this work appeared in Penny Monthly Magazine, 1855-57, reissued in book form in 1858 from Calcutta. The ways of the middle class gentry in the neighbouring towns on the Hooghly in the early nineteenth century are faithfully delineated which we find no where else in the contemporary literature. The book is translated into English as 'The Spoilt Child' by G. D. Oswell, and published in 1869 from London.

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44. *Nil Darpan* (In Bengali, Indigo mirror) a Bengali drama depicting the misdeeds of British Indigo planters and the miserable lot of the peasantry of Bengal. It was published in 1860 and was written by an 'Indian Native' but the real name of the author was Dinabandhu Mitra (1829-74). Dinabandhu Mitra was a celebrated Bengali man of letters and was an official of the Postal department. Rev. James Long, popularly known as *Padre* Long, rendered the book into English and published it from Calcutta in 1861 for which he got one month imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1000/-. This fined amount was paid by another noted son of Bengal, Kaliprasanna Sinha (1840-76), the author of *Hutom Pyacher Naksha* (Sketches by a watch owl, 1862, which is enjoyable, cheap and with vulgarity but has its historical value) and the translator of Mahabharata into literary Bengali prose. It is to be pointed out here that for its propaganda value *Nil Darpan* belongs to the same class of effective books as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', and 'Oliver Twist'.

45. Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhyaya (1899-1950) was a novelist of the first rank. He was a teacher by profession. His penetrating insight into the village folks, their life, norms, behaviour, etc. has made him unparalleled in the field of Bengali novels and short stories. His *Pather Panchali* (In Bengali) first appeared in a Bengali magazine, *Vichitra*, edited by another famous writer of Bengal, Upendranath Gangyopadhyaya, a maternal uncle of Saratchandra Chattopadhyaya. His masterpiece is *Aparajita* (Unvanquished) which is based on his own life story. Satyajit Ray, the famous film director of India, made his debut in the film industry with *Pather Panchali* and has also made another full length film with *Aparajita*, and this made Bandyopadhyaya more popular along with Ray in abroad. Bibhutibhusan liked hilly and wild land and his love for nature, forest, and folk people are fully reflected in *Aranyak* and other brilliant short stories.

46. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyaya is a prolific writer in Bengali. His *Kavi* (The village rhymester) ; *Panchagram* (The Five Villages) ; *Hansulibanker Upakatha* (The legend of Hansuli Bend) ; *Nagini Kanyar Kahini* (The Story of serpent girl) and others portray folk life, people in their normal settings. The character of his novels and stories come from Birbhum district which place he knows quite well as he himself belongs to that part of Bengal. This is the same district where Tagore's Santiniketan is situated. He received different awards from the governments as well as from non-governmental agencies and is a lucky person. In 1967 he received *Gyanpithi* award amounting to Rs. 1,00,000.00.

47. Manik Bandyopadhyaya (1908-1956) made his appearance in the Bengali monthly "Vangashree" with *"Divaratrir Kavya"* (a poem of day and night). This appeared in book form in 1936 and the author become famous and popular. His *Padmanadir Majhi* (the boatman of the river Padma) is a classic and its story was collected from the fishers-folks of East Bengal. He was also a great propagator of Marxism through his stories and novels.

48. Bhupendranath Dutta (1880-1961) was the youngest brother of Swami Vivekananda. Died in Calcutta on December 25, 1961 when he was 82, he joined revolutionary movement in 1903. For political reason he was arrested in 1907, was released in 1908, left India for U.S.A. in 1912 and began to study there. Awarded Ph.D. on Social Anthropology and his Doctoral thesis was written in German language. He had written a number of books both in English and in Bengali and some very good

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monographs both on anthropology and folklore are to his credit. He presided over the All India Folk Culture Conference, 1958 in Allahabad and his presidential address appeared in "Indian Folklore", October-December, 1959 as "An Introduction to Indian Folk Culture". He was widely known in India as a great pioneer of marxist thought and had his education in America.

49. *Banga Lakshmir Vrata Katha* (Vrata rituals of womenfolk of Bengal) is an effort to bring about the national solidarity of the Bengalis under the religious garb as a protest against Lord Curzon's scheme for the partition of Bengal in 1905. There was a great and popular movement against this partition scheme which resulted the settled fact unsettled. For details about Ramendrasundar's (1864-1919) role as a promoter of language, literature and folklore, please see"*Sahitya Sadhak Charitamala*", No. 90, by Brojendranath Bandyopadayaya, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta and "Folklore", Calcutta, vol. 6 No. 3, Mrch, 1965 for "National integration and Vrata of Banga Lakshmi" by P. K. Maity. Reader may also see Centenery Volume of Ramendrasundar, 1965 for a comprehensive idea.

50. *Malda Jatiya Siksha Samity* (Malda National Educational Association) was established in 1907 and almost simultaneously researches on various aspects of the people of the district and their culture, history, language, ritual etc. started. Haridas Palit, a distinguished physician of the district had initimate connection with the village folks and had the taste to collect folklore. Through his patients and at his own initiative he had collected a number of tales, rituals, songs and the type of materials which he sent to the editor, *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* for publication. Ramendrasundar Trivedi was the editor of this magazine then. He promptly accepted the material and published it in 1911. The name of this MSS was "Aiddyer Gambhira". It was highly received by the men of thought and culture. This encouraged Haridas Palit to revise it in a book form and accordingly it appeared in the next year, 1912. For details reader may see *Benoy Sarkarer Baithake* (In Bengali, In the Parlour of Benoy Sarkar, 1944, 1st part, first edn., Calcutta).

51. Benoy Sarkar, a famous educator and thinker of India with national and international reputation studied European Folklore in 1903-10. During this time he came to know German Philosopher Harder (1844-1902). His thought influenced Sarkar to write a book on Hindu Folklore and accordingly he wrote the book "Folk element in Hindu Culture", 1913. Besides, he was also benefited by his study of the Educational System of Ancient Greece (Benoy Sarkar wrote some articles in *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* on the Educational Policy of Ancient Greece in 1910-11 when Ramendrasundar Trivedi was the editor) for his book "Hindu achievement of exact science". For details please consult *Benoy Sarkarar Baithake*, Calcutta, 1944.

52. See "On the origin of Hindu Festival" by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Mukherjee's Journal, 1869.

53. Quoted from the *Essays and Letters*, by Bankimchandra Chatterjee. Centenery volume, ed., by Brojendranath Bandyopadhyaya and Sajanikanta Das, Calcutta, 1940.

54. For details please see "A history of English folktale collection in India and Pakistan" by Mazharul Islam, Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 1963, 264, mimeograph.

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55. The victory accomplished at Plassey in 1757 and Buxur in 1763 made East India Company virtual masters of Bengal and Bihar. The treaty of Allahabad in 1755 rendered the Nawab of Oudh a dependent ally of the East India Company. Though the company become the real rulers of Bengal this time, Clive, out of various considerations shrank from accepting full responsibility. He was interested in "Money, Money, and no time to be lost". This evil example was too faithfully followed by Clive's sucessor Verelst (1767-1769) and Cartier (1769-1772) who were responsible for the disorder and encouragment to reactionary forces. As a result Bengal saw the great famine of 1770. Then came Warren Hastings on 9-4-1772. Practically due to the efforts of Hastings and Cornwallis that the power of the Company had firmly laid its foundation in Bengal which gradually extended to the whole of India and also in elsewhere. In course of a minute in 1790 Cornwallis wrote about Bengal that England was fortunate in establishing her dominion over one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe. His panacea was permanent settlement of the land revenue in Bengal. For detailed study a reader is referred to the books—"A Survey of modern Indian History", by K. K. Datta, "Economic History of Bengal", 2 vol. by N. K. Sinha, "The Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency" by H. R. Ghosal, Calcutta, (Ph.D. Thesis of the Patna University), "The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854", by D. P. Sinha, "War of Independence" ed. by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, 1957 and "Select documents on British Period of Indian history" by D. C. Ganguli, Calcutta, 1958.

56. The Educational Policy of East India Company in Bengal to 1854 by D. P. Sinha (Ph.D. Thesis of the London University), Calcutta, 1965 can be consulted for detailed study.

57. Economic History of Bengal, by N. K. Sinha, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1956.

58. Quoted from "Fundamentals of folk literature", by J. R. Reaver & George W. Boswell, Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout. 1962.

59. Folklore is impeded by extreme diversity. It has its relation with literature and with social science. What usually happens that the students who take folklore as a branch of literature tend to think of the discipline as an advanced study of literature who are not mindful about (i) social context of folklore ; (ii) the relation of folklore with culture ; (iii) functions of folklore and many other details. Since more scholars of Bengal folklore have come from the literary school they did not pay the desired attention to folklore's relation with sociology, anthropology and other group of sciences and other perspectives perhaps due to defective training.

It should be remembered that the noted German scholar of Comparative linguistics, Jacob Grimm with the theory of Indian origin of the *marchen* said "folklore spread through Aryan Migration and their etymological techniques, suggested that words in the tales had become mangled and misunderstood in the course of retelling, and that by reconstructing the original proto-Indian European words inconsistencies or absurdities in tales could be explained". Max Muller, who also used the etymological technique, but whose linguistic restriction reduced myths to allegories of nature.

The British anthropologists and folklorists of cultural evolutionary school contended that the discrepencies folklore and conduct must be explained, not as derived from false etymologies from a common Aryan *Sun Myth*, but as a survivals of an earlier pre-Aryan state of savagery in Europe.

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Benfy and Cosquin, and the Finnish Historical-Geographical school have been pre-occupied with the question of distribution of similar tales.

"The psychoanalytical school provided well-known answer to what have been considered atrocities and obscenities, based largely on the identification of sex symbols and the Oedipus and Electra situation in myths. Some of the contradictions between folklore and culture are thus explained as wishfulment or escape from sexual taboos on the fantacy by mechanism comparable to those found in dreams or day-dreams.

The American Anthropological school refused to accept any single explanation for many different cultures and historical situations without first examining specific facts bearing upon each case" (Quoted from W. R. Bascom's "Four Functions of Folklore" appeared in *The Study of Folklore*, by A. Dundes, 1965).

It may also be pointed out in this connection that the belief, superstition, custom etc. are connected with myths, legends, and tales in most cases but still each of the same has its own entity. The root of myths, legends, tales, must be ancient but belief, custom, superstition may not be so. Here again comes the theory of Broken Down Myth which is used by Grimm Brothers. They said, "the tales are broken down myths and are to be understood only by a proper interpretation of the myths from where they come". (Quoted from Stith Thompson's "The Folktales", New York, 1951).

All that is said here will illustrate the possibility and scope of study in which the scholars of Bengal has paid little attention so far.

60. The role of James Long in sociology and folklore, by Sankar Sen Gupta, in *Folklore*, Calcutta, v. 7. n. 12., December, 1966. pp. 462-471.

61. Quoted from "Economic History of Bengal", by N. K. Sinha, Calcutta. 1956.

62. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1965.

63. Ibid.

64. Saratchandra Roy, founder-editor, Man-in-India was originally a lawyer. He had vast knowledge about the tribals of Chota Nagpur area of Bihar and had done good constructive works to make the government appreciate the tribal problem and tribal law. He has a number of useful monographs on tribals of Chota Nagpur area. His "Munda and their country", 1912 : "The Oraon of Chota Nagpur", 1915 ; "The Oraon Religion and their Custom", 1928 ; and many others portary his scholarship and sympathy for the tribals. His intimate knowledge of the history of Chota Nagpur gave him deep appreciation of the ills from which the tribals suffered.

65. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. 1, Calcutta. 1965.

66. Ibid.

67. Bengal Bratachari Society was established by Guru Saday Dutt in 1932. (See Aims and Objects of Bratchari Society, published by Bengal Bratachari Society, Calcutta) *Brata* signifies a solmn idea and *Chari* denotes one who possesses such an ideal. The Bratachari denotes one who holds the view that all life is based on joy and should be pursued as a rhythmic rituals.

68. Toru Dutt (1856-1877). At the age of six converted to Christinity. Went to Europe in 1870 along with her parents. Lost her only brother Abja in 1875, elder sister Aru in 1874 when she was 20. Toru died at the age of 21. Toru was a poet

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and perhaps the first Asian to have made literary contributions in French. Was equally brilliant in English, and a regular contributor to "Bengal Magazine", "Calcutta Review" and in others. Was the first Indian student in Cambridge. By her talent she got her accommodation in the Cambridge History of English literature. Her "Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindusthan" appeared in 1882. It is primarily a book on poetry which is based on Hindu mythology, folk ballads and legends.

69. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965.

70. Jogindranath Sarkar (1866-1937) was a teacher and also a publisher. Realising a long-felt need for a juvenile book he first wrote "Hashi O Khela" (Laugh and play, 1861). Rabindranath Tagore reviewed this book in his journal "Sadhana" in 1301 B. S. Jogindranath founded City Book Co., a publishing House in Calcutta in 1896. His next book is "Chabi o Galpa" (Picture and Story, 1892), "Hashi-Khushi" 1st part appeared in 1897, and 2nd part in 1898. "Khukumanir Chhada" appeared in 1889. Jogindranath had written no less than 23 books all for the children and all successful and popular.

71. Upendrakishore Ray Choudhury (1270-1332 B. S.) hailed from the district of Mymensingh now in East Pakistan. His grandson Satyajit Ray is an internationally known film director of India, film critic and an artist of repute. His son Sukumar Ray was equally briliant and a household name for his marvellous creation of juvenile literature. Upendrakishore is also a pioneer of block-making industry. His first book "Chheleder Ramayan" (The Ramayana for the children) is a juvenile book where illustrations were made by himself. He founded "Sandesh", a monthly magazine for the children which was very much popular during his life time. The merit of *Tuntunir Boi*, which is a collection of folktales of Bengal, is widely recognised. He was also fond of music and a versatile genius.

72. Abanindranath Tagore, b. 7th August, 1871 and was 10 years younger to Rabindranath Tagore. He was a painter but was not satisfied only with paintings. His sculptures are unique and was the Bagiswari professor of ancient Indian history and culture in the University of Calcutta for some time. His literary instinct was imbued from family traditions. His writings can be divided into 4 groups. (1) *Prachin Sahitya* or ancient literature, *Khirer Putul*, *Shakuntala*, 1302 B. S. *Raj Kahini*, 1st 1909, 2nd 1931, (2) *Silpa* or art subject, *Bagiswari prabandhabali*, 1941 (3) *Bhutparir Desh*, 1951, *Khajanchir Katha*, 1921 etc. and (4) *Banglar brata Katha* (Vrata rituals of Bengal), 1367 B. S. etc.

His birthday is also remarkable for Swadeshi Day. On this very day (7th August) a movement started to reject foreign goods and to accept home-made praducts.

73. The first part of *Haramani* (collection of folksongs of Bengal) published by the University of Calcutta in 1943 with a small preface by Rabindranath Tagore. Prof. Mansuruddin lived in Calcutta then. After the partition of Bengal in 1947 he left Calcutta for Dacca from where the subsequent parts of *Haramani* is being published. So far as we know, volume No. 8 of the same title published from East Pakistan. Each volume consist of original folksongs of the Musalman and Hindu folks collected from different parts of East Bengal.

74. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1965.

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75. Since the establishment of the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, the organ of the literateurs' association of Bengal, in 1301 B. S. a good number of Bengal folklore in its different forms and types are being published regularly under the patronage and encouragement of men of thought and culture like Rabindranath Tagore, Ramendasundar Trivedi and others. It has become almost a regular feature of the contemporary journals and newspapers in Bengal to publish articles and essays on folklore.

76. See Folklorists of Bengal, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1965.

77. Satyacharan Chakravarti, was a contemporary of Dakshinarajan Mitra Majumdar. He had collected hundreds of folktales from different parts of Bengal and almost all his collected tales appeared from Calcutta in book form which were published by Bhattacherjee & Sons, then a leading publisher of Calcutta which organisation introduced Dakshinaranjan also in the market by publishing "Thakurmar Jhuli" first. Satyacharan lacked in discipline and since he was a bachelor, nobody cared for the reprinting of his books, neither his publisher, Bhattacherjee & Sons, is in existence now. Naturally, he has been forgotton quickly. His book *"Thakurmar Jhola"* (In Bengali. Old granmother's tales) *"Thakurdada Jhola"* (Old grandfather's tales, 1918) are important.

78. A Survey or recent studies on Modern Indian history, by K. K. Datta, Calcutta. 1957.

79. R. C. Dutt (1848-1909) was a member of the Indian Civil Service and an ex-president of Indian National Congress Party. He was a giant in the literary, cultural and economic field and to some extent political history of Bengal for his energetic contribution in all these in the formative period. He had translated Rig Veda into Bengali prose, 1885-87 and his "Civilization in India", 2 Vol. (i) "Later Hindu Civilization"—A. D. 500 to A. D. 1200 and (ii) Early Hindu Civilization—B. C. 2000 to 320—received world appreciation as a very good study of the cultural history of India. Besides, he first wrote an important book on the Indian peasantary. His 'Economic History of India', 2 vols., 1906-08 is a pioneer work on Indian economics.

80. Economic transition in Bengal Presidency, by H. R. Ghosal, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1966.

81. Letter to R. C. Dutt.

82. See "Some aspects of caste in Bengal" by Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 71, No 281. July-September, 1958, pp. 397-412. Here it will be an interesting point to note that Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia, the Socialist leader of India, in a recent article in 'Mankind' said that, "Bengal's educated classes have rarely shown an understanding of the caste problem. Of the nearly 30 million people of West Bengal, roughly five million belong to the high caste. Between seven million and ten million are Harijans or Scheduled castes, and roughly half the population consists of backward castes. (Figures qouted by Lohia differ from that of the official figures, see tables. Bengal's Communists and other cosmopolitans do not quite realise how effectively they have suppressed their backward castes. And to that extent *this is the most caste-ridden state in India*". (This is a controversial statement and perhaps not factually correct. Inspite of that we have recorded it here for point of

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information as it provide the thinking of a section of politician as to how they use to treat caste).

83. It may be an interesting point to know that long before the beginnings of folklore as a discipline in the 6th century B. C. the Greek philosopher, *Xenophanes* complained in a poem that gods were credited with committing the worst crime of mortals ; somewhat later the Greek poet Pindar refused to repeat a story in which the gods were said to eat human flesh (cited by A. Long in "Myth, Ritual and Religion"). About 316 B. C. Euhemerus offered his theory that myths had their origin in actual historical characters and events and that the gods were once men who were deified and worshipped after their death. Thus the gods had feet of clay and the crimes of the gods were really crimes of men. (Taken from W. R. Bascom in "Four function of folklore", appeared in the book *The Study of Folklore*, 1965).

84. It is a point to note that during the British period hundreds of talented scholars of United Kingdom took serious interest to study India and her people from different academic and administrative angles. Unfortunately, after India won freedom they have withdrawn their interest from India even in the academic study and by this one can deduce that the scholars of the United Kingdom were always directed by the politics of the country. The Indological study is getting its stronghold in the United States, West Germany and U. S. S. R. also are showing greater interest in the study of Indology, which are also motivated in most cases and guided by political reason.

85. Aims and objects of Hindu Mela, 1273 B. S.

86. A nation in making, by Surendra Nath Banerjee, London, 1928.

87. In reply to Sankar Sen Gupta's letter addressed to the then Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy for setting up a Folklore Institute and a National Folk-Song and Dance Federation on March 15, 1962. P. S. Mathur, the then Director of Publicity, Government of West Bengal, on behalf of the Chief Minister wrote to Sankar Sen Gupta on April 19, 1962 vide Memo No. 4474 pub. P. "I shall be grateful if you kindly meet me on Monday, April 9 at 10 a.m. to further discuss your proposal with a view to our arranging a meeting between you and some other experts on the subject with the Chief Minister on April 17, 1962 at 6 p.m. We will be required to submit a self contained Memorandum to him with all proposals".

In course of discussions with Mathur, it was settled, to prepare a Memorandum for a National Institute of Folklore for the Chief Minister. Sankar Sen Gupta prepared the same and passed it on to Mr. Mathur for the Chief Minister on 11-4-1962. The meeting was held duly on the 17th April. Different persons expressed different opinions and at the instance of Sankar Sen Gupta Dr. Roy asked Mr. K. P. Sen to arrange a further meeting with Sankar Sen Gupta for preparing a fresh memorandum for Dr. Roy. Unfortunately, K. P. Sen did not find time to meet Sankar Sen Gupta by July 1, 1962, meatime, Dr. Roy breathed his last. The matter was not pursuaded by the successor of Dr. Roy inspite of the fact that Mr. P. C. Sen, the then Chief Minister also showd much interest to Folklore Study and he was also the Chairman of the Reception Committee, All India Folklore Conference, held in Februrary 8-10, 1964 in Calcutta.

88. The partition of Bengal first planned by Lord Curzon in 1905 but it did not materialise due to great national uprising under the leadership of Rabindranath Tagore, Surendranath Banerjee and others. But in 1911 Bengal was partitioned and the capital of India was transferred to Delhi from Calcutta. Even after the forma-

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tion of West Bengal, which is practically one-third of the United Bengal, the State is divided for adjustments with the neighbouring States in India. Inspite of the partition of Bengal again and again the culture and language remain undivided. That is why, during the partition movement in 1947 there was also a movement headed by Saratchandra Bose, the elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, along with the then Chief Minister of Bengal, Sahid Suhrawardy for an Independent Bengal. Their demand was : Bengal should not join either India or in Pakistan ; it should be a Sovereign Independent State. It may also be pointed out here that when Wellesley took over as Governor General in 1798 Bengal roughly included East and West Bengal with exception of Darjeeling District, the whole of Bihar, Silchar and Chachar of Assam and Benaras of U. P. In 1801 the Company acquired from the Nawab of Oudh seven districts which were added of Bengal. Further additions were made in 1803 when Orissa was obtained from Raja of Berer and this was also added to Bengal. Darjeeling was acquired in 1825. Thus, it is apparent that Bengal at that time was a very big territory. The leaders of United Bengal movement raised all these questions. Anyway, they could not succeed. Bengal partition movement in 1946-47 was initiated by Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee. His demand was for a homeland for the Hindus of Pakistan and he mobilised strong public opinion in his favour when the Division of India was settled in principle. After Independence both the countries have been conscious about the traditional culture and began vigorious search for collecting folklore and other traditional materials.

89. The Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency by H. R. Ghosal, 2nd edn. Calcutta, 1966.

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